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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS IN SELECTED CANADIAN PRAIRIE CITIES: 1880 - 1930

by

© SUSAN EVELYN MARKHAM

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

LEISURE STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF RECREATION AND LEISURE STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING 1988

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Dr. Elsie M. McFarland.

ABSTRACT

This research investigated the development of municipal parks and playgrounds in selected major Canadian prairie cities between 1880 and 1930. The study examined two factors, urban reform and civic boosterism, to determine their impacts on the policies for and provision of municipal parks and playgrounds in four cities: Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton. These four cities were examined individually, with comparisons being made between them. The central objective was to determine if there were common threads and links in the patterns of development of municipal parks and playgrounds in the various cities.

The research proposition was that **urban reform and civic boosterism were factors which significantly affected the development of parks and playgrounds in prairie cities.**
This proposition was addressed through three questions:

(1) Who were the advocates of parks and playgrounds, and what were their motives?

(2) What (if any) policies were discussed and adopted by municipal decision-makers as a result of the rhetoric of the advocates and the prevalent movements and attitudes?

(3) What actions were then taken to establish and develop parks and playgrounds?

The proposition was not supported by the research findings. Urban reform had an effect upon the *process* of creating an awareness of park and playground issues and in creating organizations to manage and plan parks and playgrounds, but had little or no little impact on the actual designation and development of park and playground sites. Civic boosterism had little influence on either parks or playground organizations or sites, but did, however, have substantial influence on the establishment of planning organizations and on the commissioning of comprehensive plans. However, little implementation resulted.

The study demonstrated that there were other important influences on the development of parks and playgrounds. The environment, especially the economic environment and the physical environment, was the most important influence. The activities of powerful groups had more influence on the "process" than on the "product." Rational decision making, with logical, long-term planning was noted in the rhetoric, but had little impact. Incrementalism was a more useful explanation of decision making.

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The author gratefully acknowledges the considerable moral and financial support received from family, friends, colleagues, committee members and funding agencies.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. THE PROBLEM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

This research has investigated the development of municipal parks and playgrounds in selected major Canadian prairie cities between 1880 and 1930. The study has examined two factors, the urban reform movement and civic boosterism, in order to determine their impacts on the policies for and provision of municipal parks and playgrounds in four cities: Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton. The four cities were chosen because of their roles as key centers in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, which joined Confederation in 1905. While other centers, such as Moose Jaw and Prince Albert, may have had greater populations or have been more significant commercial centers in the early stages of their development, by 1905 and through to 1930, these four cities were the most substantial and enduring ones.

These four cities have been examined individually, with comparisons then being drawn among and between them on a provincial and interprovincial basis. The central objective has been to determine if there were common threads and links in the patterns of development of municipal parks and playgrounds in the various cities - and, if so, what these were.

Public parks have, of course, been developed for a number of reasons, several of which are shown in a report of the Committee of Common, Halifax, Nova Scotia, dated September 30, 1864 which noted that:

> Your Committee also find that in every city where there is a park and pleasure grounds for promenading, it also makes an attraction for strangers, and frequently induces gentlemen of skill and capital to come and settle. And your committee consider that if such a class of persons could be induced to come here and reside, they would be of great advantage to the city, as some of them would be likely to establish manufactories, and others build handsome residences, which would give employment to mechanics and labourers, and their capital would circulate throughout the whole community, and be likewise the means of increasing the population.

This claim, that parks would act as an attraction for new residents and new investment, is one which has been frequently made by city administrators and city boosters in North America, both past and present. In addition, there were frequent claims, made by promoters of the urban reform movement, that parks and playgrounds would benefit a city through the enhancement of its residents' physical and moral health. However, these subjects, civic

boosterism and urban reform, have rarely been examined by historians dealing with parks and recreation systems in Canada, although some previous research work has described the development of parks and playgrounds and noted the abundance of urban reform rhetoric in justifying them. [1]

The significance of this study stems from its contributions specifically to parks and recreation history as well as to urban history in general.

The research project has explored the connections between various interest groups and influential individuals, on the one hand, and the development of municipal parks and playgrounds, on the other. The groups and individuals were often promoters of urban reform, civic pride and planning, making statements which touted parks and playgrounds as being attractions to new businesses and residents, and providing services for new and old residents. Much of the past research about parks and playgrounds has accepted the rhetoric of the vocal promoters as evidence of the reasons for providing services. In this thesis, the section of the background review which deals with 'Parks and Playgrounds' contains a considerable number of examples of this rhetoric. The purpose of this research project, however, was to attempt to move beyond rhetoric, to ascertain if there were any resultant policies and any action, by determining the impact of the two key groups, the urban reformers and the civic boosters. In doing this, the research study examined decision makers' policies and actions, in an effort to provide explanations of the reasons for municipal government policy development in the area of parks and recreation services.

Recent publications in urban history have addressed two major points which can assist in explaining the contribution that this research makes: firstly, that research in Canadian urban history is a relatively undeveloped area; and secondly, that much research in urban history looks at specific local situations rather than the overall processes of urbanization. [2]

---

[1]for example: E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1970); and
J.R. Wright, *Urban Parks in Ontario - Part 1: Origins to 1860* (Toronto: Province of Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Recreation, 1983).

[2]G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise, eds., *The Canadian City - Essays in Urban History* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1979);
G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise, eds., *Shaping the Urban Landscape - Aspects of*

When these two limitations of past research are combined with the paucity of research on municipal parks and recreation, it becomes apparent that there are considerable gaps in our knowledge which are of interest to those in urban studies, planning, recreation and leisure studies, and related fields. The results of this study can help to fill some of the gaps, by supplying information and providing analyses about the development of prairie urban centers generally, and municipal parks and playgrounds in particular - at both the case study and comparative levels.

It was anticipated that the findings of the study would provide arguments to support the hypotheses of researchers subscribing to the 'metropolitan' explanations of Canada's development - namely, that newer, small centres may have used parks and playgrounds as services and attractions in their quest to emulate the established metropolises of the East. [3] The use of parks and playgrounds as 'boostable' topics or as reform issues has not previously been investigated in most of the cities in the study. Thus, it was expected that the findings of the study would provide evidence to explain more than was previously known about the roles of the civic boosters and urban reformers in parks and recreation in prairie urban development.

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[2](cont'd) *the Canadian City-Building Process* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982); and
A.F.J. Artibise, ed., *Town and City - Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981), pp. xvii-xix.

[3]Boosterism was certainly not limited to western cities. One example of eastern boosterism in parks and recreation was cited by Wright in his description of Kingston:

> The Subscriber's Committee made an eloquent plea for the park in 1853, in a report to City Council: 'The Park, that great and almost indispensible appendage to the city, was planned to be a haven of rest . . . and in a pecuniary view, the Committee have not doubted that the city would be greatly benefitted . . . by the greater number of strangers who would visit us.'

M. Cohoe, "The Observatory in City Park 1855-1880," *Kingston Historical Society* 27 (January 1979): 82, quoted in J.R. Wright, *Urban Parks in Ontario - Part 1: Origins to 1860* (Toronto: Province of Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Recreation, 1983), p. 67.

B. DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The prairie cities in the study are Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton. They were studied in depth through the use of primary and secondary source materials. Winnipeg was also considered as part of the background review for the study; but, in this case, information was derived from secondary sources only.

The narrow focus on municipally established and developed parks and playgrounds reflects the stage of development of municipal parks and recreation services in most of the prairie cities in the time period of the study. Today's more comprehensive municipal parks and recreation systems, with their diverse sports, cultural and related facilities, were a later development.

The time period, 1880 to 1930, includes, in the beginning years, the period when most prairie cities were being established, and, in the final years, the period of enthusiasm and affluence that quickly faded with the fiscal crises of the 1930's.

The study was limited by the availability of source documents. While most civic collections of files and minutes for the study period were complete, some materials were not available because they had not been preserved, while others were not accessible to the researcher because of storage and use restrictions. In those instances where materials were not available in the civic collection, other sources, such as the minutes of interest groups, newspapers, and secondary source materials, were used to prepare the background for the study of each city.

Within the thesis, a model including two aspects, "process" and "product," is presented as part of the explanation of the development of parks and playgrounds. "Process" refers to the steps through which each city moved in initiating and implementing park and playground services. "Product" refers to the state of parks and playgrounds in each city in 1930. The playgrounds "product" refers to the developed, supervised playgrounds which were operating by 1930, whereas the parks "product" refers to the sites which were designated for park use, but which were not necessarily developed for particular recreation activities. This thesis does not address whether these park sites were later developed for recreation activities,

and in fact, history shows that some of these sites were later developed, either partially or totally, for other purposes.

For the purpose of the study each city was defined geographically by the boundaries of that city in 1930. Where appropriate and possible, information for the early years was gathered to include municipalities that were annexed to form the city as it was in 1930.

C. RESEARCH PROPOSITION

The research proposition was developed from the background review of the materials pertinent to the urban reformers, the civic boosters and the development of parks and playgrounds. That review contains numerous examples of the rhetoric of the advocates of parks and playgrounds, but noted the need to move from acceptance of the rhetoric to analysis of policies and action.

The term 'research proposition' has been used rather than 'research hypothesis' for several reasons. Both a hypothesis and a proposition state suggested outcomes; a proposition is something presented or offered for consideration or discussion, while a hypothesis is presented for testing (usually rigorous empirical testing). The nature of the evidence used in this research project does not lend itself to such empirical testing, but rather, it must be subjected to interpretation and analysis based on informed opinion and judgement by the researcher.

Thus, the research proposition put forth for examination is:

That urban reform and civic boosterism were factors which significantly affected the development of parks and playgrounds in prairie cities.

This proposition was addressed through three questions:

(1) Who were the advocates of parks and playgrounds, and what motives can be found in their rhetoric?

(2) What (if any) policies were discussed and adopted by municipal decision-makers as a result of the rhetoric of the advocates of parks and playgrounds and the prevalent movements and attitudes of the time?

(3) What actions were taken to establish and develop parks and playgrounds as a result of both the rhetoric and the policies?

As noted earlier, the research proposition reflects the need to move from accepting the rhetoric to further analyses of policies and action. This thesis proposition and its attendant questions will be considered in light of an interpretive framework created from a review of literature dealing with theories of policy making, decision making and pressure groups. This framework suggests that four elements of the theories, namely ideology, environment, power and rational decision making, should provide explanations about the development of parks and playgrounds in the four prairie cities to assist in moving from accepting rhetoric to understanding the source of policies and any subsequent action.

D. SOURCES AND METHODS USED IN THE RESEARCH

The research was carried out using historical methods involving the collection of primary and secondary source materials. Secondary source materials, those accounts produced by authors not necessarily present at the events under study, were first reviewed to provide background material for the topic of the research. Secondary source materials came from past studies in parks and recreation history, planning history, urban history and prairie development. They included publications and periodicals of planning, parks and recreation and interest groups; newspapers; and interviews with local historians. As well, biographies of key individuals and general and topical histories of the cities in the study were used. A complete, cross-referenced list of publications and periodicals is included in the research bibliography. Primary source materials, either documents about particular issues or accounts by those directly involved in the issues, formed the basis for the preparation of the studies of the four cities and the subsequent analyses and comparisons. These documents and accounts were subjected to internal and external criticism. Primary sources included: files, minutes and reports of city councils, and planning and parks and recreation commissions; similar documents from boards of trade, councils of women, and other booster and reform groups; and maps and architectural drawings. The primary and secondary source materials were found

in the collections of the provincial and city archives in Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon, Regina and Winnipeg, as well as in a number of university collections.

External and internal criticism of the documents is undertaken by archivists and researchers to determine both their authenticity (external criticism) and meaning (internal criticism). [4] For external criticism, the determination of the authenticity of primary source documents as to time and place, the researcher relied in large part on the past collecting and cataloguing efforts of the staff in the various archives. Internal criticism, the meaning of the statements in the document and the motives of the authors of such, was carried out through reviews of other authors' accounts of the same issues and events, or by cross referencing primary sources, such as committee recommendations, council minutes and newspaper reports, in order to clarify the statements. An example of such an exercise would be the comparisons of the accounts of an issue in City Council minutes, in Board of Trade minutes, in private communications (letters) and in the local newspaper to gain an understanding of the issue beyond that which any one of these sources might convey. This method goes beyond the very narrow definition of internal criticism, "meaning and accuracy," to also encompass the context in which events took place and the motives of some of the actors in the issues and events.

The procedure followed in answering the three questions used to evaluate the proposition for each of the four cities was:

1. Review of secondary source materials for:
    a. Generalized accounts of individual cities' development;
    b. Specific references (if any) to the development of parks and playgrounds;
    c. Legislation relating to parks, playgrounds and planning.
2. Archival search for manuscripts and clipping files regarding:
    a. Parks and recreation boards and commissions and planning boards and commissions;
    b. Interest groups (e.g. boards of trade and councils of women) - especially minute books, annual meetings, and resolutions;

---

[4] P.D.Leedy, *Practical Research: Planning and Design* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1980), p. 88.

c. Influential individuals - as determined by the above searches.

3. Systematic review of minutes, files and reports of city councils to establish the impact of advocacy groups through decisions made, policies developed, and actions taken - specifically, acquiring and developing parks, and establishing playgrounds.
4. Review of local newspapers, during the time periods when there were major advocacy and decision-making activities, to gather more background information, as well as public and editorial response to such activities.

The study began by considering only individuals or groups as promoters of particular issues. As the research progressed, however, it became apparent that local newspapers were also active in promoting parks, playgrounds and planning issues. This promotion took the form of announcements of upcoming events and reports of events after they had occurred, often coupled with exhortations in support of the issue on the newspapers' editorial pages. The rhetoric exhibited in editorials provides some of the most abundant examples of urban reform and civic booster sentiments to which local residents, voters and decision makers were exposed.

This procedure was used to gather the materials and prepare a study of each of the four cities examined in depth (Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton). The study of each city included the following topics: establishment and development of the city; park management; park planning; land acquisition and disposition; playgrounds development; and comprehensive city planning. This is followed by an analysis and interpretation in light of the framework presented in Part II, Background Review. These topics were selected after the documents for each city were reviewed and categorized by specific issues and events, at which point the above topics became ones around which the issues and events 'clustered.' Following the presentation of the evidence detailing the development of parks and playgrounds in each city, the summary and analysis section was prepared, which related the evidence for each city to the framework of analysis presented in Part II. To complete the analysis, the four cities were compared with one another, both within their respective provinces and between provinces, in order to establish if there were any substantial commonalities in both the

patterns of development of parks and playgrounds, and the roles of particular individuals and interest groups, acting either alone or in alliances.

The patterns of development in each city were then reviewed to determine if the two factors, urban reform and civic boosterism, were significant influences in developing parks and playgrounds.

E. PROCESS AND PRODUCT MODEL

For the purpose of this research, the phrase *pattern of development* was initially used, as had been done by McFarland in the first historical study of public recreation in Canada. [5] As the thesis research and analysis proceeded, this notion was refined to include two aspects, *process* and *product* to explain the development of parks and playground services. Within the summary and analysis of each city, the following questions were answered:

Through what *process* did each city move in initiating and implementing park and playground services?

What was the end *product*? That is, what services were in place in each city by 1930?

Why did this situation occur? What factors caused this *process* and *product*?

The term *services* was defined as parks designated and playgrounds provided and supported, totally or partially, by the municipal government in each city. Thus, playgrounds operated by a service club, but partially funded by a city grant would be included, as would the wholly funded municipal park system; but provincial legislature grounds and agricultural society grounds would not be included.

The roles of particular individuals or interest groups, or newspapers acting either alone or in alliances, were included in the *process* of developing services - specifically, in terms of the promotion of an issue either before or after it was recognized by the municipal decision-makers.

The organizations formed to deal with parks, playgrounds and planning could be part of both the *process* and the *product*. An organization would be part of the *process* when it

[5] E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Park/Recreation Association, 1970), p. 38.

was formed to be one of the advocates for a particular issue - for example, the various playgrounds associations which attempted to influence a city councils, urging it to establish playgrounds. An organization could be part of the *product* if it was established as a result of deliberations by municipal decision-makers who desired to provide particular services. Examples of this would be a parks commission or a planning commission. The mere establishment of an organization, however, did not guarantee that parks or playgrounds or planning services would be provided or that human or financial resources were available. The organization may have been created merely to diffuse pressure from advocacy groups. Thus, even if an organization is part of the product, it may be seen as only one stage in the product.

The process of initiating and implementing services may include the following actions:

recognition, acceptance and promotion of an issue by an individual, interest group or newspaper

WHICH COULD LEAD TO

formation of a community based advocacy organization

AND/OR

recognition of an issue by municipal decision-makers

WHICH LED TO

discussion of the issue by decision makers and either adoption or rejection of a policy to pursue a deliberately chosen course of action (or inaction)

OR

action without any policy decision

WHICH LED TO

product (or lack of it): parks or playgrounds or organizations to supply services

II. BACKGROUND REVIEW

A. URBAN WEST 1880-1930

The choice of four cities and a 50-year time period for this study reflects the settlement pattern and the prevailing social and economic conditions in the prairies.

The four principal publications outlining the urban development of the prairies differ slightly in their definitions of "urban" and in their emphasis on the significant factors in establishing and changing the patterns of urban development. [1] However, they all agree that what began in 1881 as an area dominated by Winnipeg, with little urban development elsewhere, soon changed. By 1911, in the wake of the coming of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and later the Canadian Northern Railway, the remaining four cities, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton had emerged as major trade centers with their own industries and social and cultural institutions. Artibise concludes that, "in short, by 1914 the prairies had five fairly large and sophisticated cities." [2] One characteristic of this sophistication was the development of a system of parks and playgrounds. In this study Winnipeg is viewed as the city dominating much of the development of the West because of its earlier establishment, its earlier entry into Confederation, and the more advanced state of its manufacturing sector and trade and communication links with eastern Canada and the United States. Hence, Winnipeg differs dramatically from the other four cities and, as such was not included directly in the study. The description of the development of Winnipeg and of its parks and playgrounds is included in the Appendix of this thesis. The other four cities, in provinces which entered Confederation in 1905, have different patterns of growth, of

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[1] L.D. McCann, "Urban Growth in Western Canada, 1881-1931," *Albertan Geographer* 8 (1968-69): 65-74;
J.M.S. Careless, "Aspects of Urban Life in the West 1870-1919," in *The Canadian City*, eds. G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1979), pp. 125-141;
P. Voisey, "The Urbanization of the Canadian Prairies, 1871-1916," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 8 (May 1975): 77-101; and
A.F.J. Artibise, *Prairie Urban Development* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1981).

[2] Artibise, p. 18.

legislation, and of action in municipal affairs. Table 1 shows the population in these five prairie centers from 1881 to 1931, the dates when each achieved village, town and city status, and the dates when the various provinces entered Confederation.

TABLE 1

CANADIAN PRAIRIE CITIES

1871 - 1931 [3]

Year	Winnipeg	Regina	Saskatoon	Calgary	Edmonton
POPULATION					
1871	241	-	-	-	-
1881	7,985	c800	-	100	263
1886	20,238	?	-	?	?
1891	25,639	1,681	-	3,867	700
1901	42,340	2,249	113	4,398	4,176
1906	90,153	6,169	3,001	11,967	14,088
1911	136,035	30,213	12,004	43,704	36,643
1916	163,000	26,617	21,048	56,514	53,846
1921	179,087	34,432	25,739	63,305	58,821
1926	191,998	37,329	31,234	65,291	65,163
1931	218,785	53,209	43,291	83,761	79,187
INCORPORATION					
Village	-	-	1901	-	-
Town	-	1883	1903	1884	1892
City	1873	1903	1906	1893	1904
PROVINCE IN CONFEDERATION					
	1870	1905	1905	1905	1905

[3]Data compiled from: A.F.J. Artibise, *Town and City - Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1981), pp. 416-423, citing *Censuses of Canada*, 1871-1931.
Note: the population figure for Edmonton includes Strathcona in 1901, 1906 and 1911.

Each of the four case study cities was competing intensely in its efforts to emulate the major metropolises of the east (including Winnipeg), and to attract settlers and institutions at the expense of the others. As decision makers in each city permitted the expansion of land bases and services, they mortgaged that city's future while hoping to boost its image and population. The year 1914 marked the change to declining fortunes, after the 1913 recession and the consequent realization that municipal revenues were not sufficient to cover the earlier expansions. The 1913 recession was attributed to (among other things) the shortage of available funds on the money market due to external demands, excessive demands for the overextension of credit by those caught up in the boom economy, and the low prices paid for the 1912 wheat crop. [4] This recession was followed by the outbreak of war, slow inward migration (and in some cases substantial outmigration) and a very slow economic recovery. [5] Thus, municipalities' revenues declined and frequently were not sufficient to cover the cost of services which were developed in response to the population increases of the early 1910's. As the costs of capital debt repayment were fixed, the funds available for operation and maintenance of municipal services such as recreation were limited.

Grandiose plans made by civic boosters and urban planners were put aside in favour of retrenchment. [6] "City Efficient" thoughts, promoting health and hygiene, replaced "City Beautiful" thoughts. [7] City planners were influenced by the health, hygiene and efficiency aspects of planning promoted by the Commission on Conservation and by its imported English planner, Thomas Adams. Local planning in many cities took the form of attempting to administer growth through zoning, as described in general by Van Nus and, specifically in

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[4]D. Kerr and S. Hanson, *Saskatoon: The First Half Century* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982), pp. 118-119.

[5]A.F.J. Artibise, "The Urban West: The Evolution of Prairie Towns and Cities to 1930," *Prairie Forum* 4 (Fall 1979): 258.

[6]for example, T.H. Mawson, *Calgary - A Preliminary Scheme for Controlling the Economic Growth of the City* (Calgary: City Planning Commission, 1914).

[7]W. Van Nus, "The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Canada, 1880-1930, in *The Canadian City*, eds. G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1979), pp. 162-185; and
W. Van Nus, "Towards the City Efficient: The Theory and Practice of Zoning, 1919-1930," in *The Usable Urban Past*, eds. A.F.J. Artibise and G.A. Stelter (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1979), pp. 226-246.

Edmonton, by Dale.[1]

In terms of urban policy development, the 1920's were marked by some resurgence of confidence (and physical development) which was exemplified by renewed pressure for civic beautification, planning and land acquisition. However, most economic activity slowed dramatically as the effects of the Depression began to be felt in 1929 and through the 1930's.

B. URBAN REFORM AND CIVIC BOOSTERISM

Both urban reform and civic boosterism involved efforts by individuals and groups to promote causes or actions which they favoured. The causes of the urban reformers were varied, including social welfare, public health, planning, and government infrastructure. Civic boosters, in contrast, had a single focus: they promoted their particular communities with hopes that they would grow and become 'better' - thus enhancing everyday life for the residents. The causes and efforts favoured by both urban reformers and civic boosters coincided on some issues. This study looks at parks and playgrounds as common ground for both civic boosters and urban reformers, although different motives may have driven each group, or they may have used different tactics in promoting their particular approach.

In order to understand the urban reform and civic booster groups in the prairie cities in this study, it is necessary to consider the roots of the urban reform movement, particularly in Eastern Canada; to describe the civic booster spirit as expressed in many Western centers; and to become aware of the groups whose interests embodied the reform and booster ethics.

Weaver queried "what criteria define a reformer?"[2] Responses to this question will follow as the study looks at several facets of urban reform and the individuals and groups which we have labelled as 'urban reformers.' The same will be done for the 'civic boosters.' Past analyses of both urban reform and civic booster interests have addressed, either directly or indirectly, the backgrounds of the promoters, the rhetoric of the spokesmen, the

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[1]Van Nus, "Towards the City Efficient"; and
E.H. Dale, "Decision Making at Edmonton, Alberta 1913-1945: Town Planning Without a Plan," *Plan Canada* 11 (September 1971): 134-147.
[2]J.C. Weaver, "Approaches to the History of Urban Reform," *Urban History Review* 2-76 (October 1976): 6.

beneficiaries of their activities and, on occasion, the results of their activities.

Urban Reform

Urban reform is often referred to as a movement. For the definition of a movement it is appropriate to turn to a contemporary writer, Clarence Rainwater, writing in 1922 about the playground movement:

> There are four characteristics common to movements:
> (1) a series of events involving adjustments to a social situation;
> (2) an extension of this series in time and space;
> (3) an object to be realized by means of the adjustments involved; and
> (4) a tendency toward attainment of that object, disclosed by stages in its development and transitions in its policy and activities. [10]

Urban reform advocates created a movement. In Rainwater's terminology, they were attempting to adjust the social situation in the cities - that "sorry condition" where community services were very limited; to continue this adjustment forward in time and in other centers; to seek to realize an ideal city (labelled by Rutherford as "tomorrow's city"). In retrospect, researchers may be able to identify stages in the development from reform rhetoric through policies to implementation of actual reforms.

The first modern collector of urban reform literature in Canada was Rutherford. [11] His 1974 anthology outlines the beginnings of urban reform as a response to "the sorry condition of cities." [12] The movement was first led by journalists writing in certain "people's journals" and later by "a new group of specialists in urban affairs . . . imbued with a reforming zeal and a singular sense of mission," with support from volunteer organizations and churches. [13] Both the causes addressed by the reformers and the individuals and groups whom we now term 'reformers' were varied:

> So wide was the scope of the urban reform movement that some readers may feel it was merely a collection of assorted causes linked only by a general focus on the city

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[10]C.E. Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922; reprint ed., Washington, D.C.: National Recreation and Parks Assoc., 1976), p. 1.
[11]P. Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase, 1880-1920*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).
[12]Ibid., p. ix.
[13]Ibid., p. x.

> and its problems. Clearly there were many different concerns sheltered under the umbrella of urban reform - the elements of vice and crime, social justice, the creation of a healthy environment, the regulation of utility corporations, the beautification of the industrial city, town planning, tax reform and the remodelling of municipal government. Yet the reformer rarely limited his activities to one cause . . . . Reform leaders recognized that their special causes were only part of a single effort to order and improve the urban environment. That recognition was itself a reflection of the ideas and techniques which these reformers held in common. [14]

In general, the theme of the urban reformers involved attempts at ordering and improving the environment. However, current interpretations of the motives of the reformers vary. These interpretations include the altruistic approach implied by Rutherford as he describes efforts "to make the city healthy, moral and equitable." [15] A less sympathetic view of those idealistic motives was presented by Weaver as he suggested that reform interests "sought to perpetuate a stratified society based upon traditional patterns of deference and morality" as well as meshing with the booster efforts of a select group of businessmen who had their own particular self interests at stake. [16]

The aspects of urban reform which are most relevant to this research study about parks and playgrounds are those dealing with a healthy environment, civic beautification, town planning and changes to municipal government. The "healthy environment" included the physical, mental and moral health of the residents and, by extension, the city as a whole. Civic beautification and town planning, involved both ordering and improving the urban environment and its image. Changes to municipal government included structural improvements to the electoral system by removing the ward system and defining legislative, executive and administrative responsibilities, combined with hiring trained expert staff to carry out administrative tasks in a business-like fashion without political interference. [17] Parks and playgrounds were considered to assist in all four aspects. Urban health and civic beautification were cited as reasons for providing parks and playgrounds. The provision of parks and

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[14]Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.
[15]P. Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: the Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920," in *The Canadian City - Essays in Urban History*, ed. G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise (Toronto: MacMillan, 1979), p. 370.
[16]J.C. Weaver, "Tomorrow's Metropolis Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Canadian Urban Reform, 1880-1920," in *The Canadian City - Essays in Urban History*, ed. G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise (Toronto: MacMillan, 1979), pp. 393-394.
[17]Rutherford, *Saving the Canadian City*, pp. xvi-xx.

playgrounds was considered as part of town planning. As well, many cities hired park experts (and later playground or recreation experts) and created a civic commission charged with ongoing, long term responsibility for parks and playgrounds, presumably without political interference.

A review of urban reform groups and reform ideas must commence with some views of the backgrounds of the reformers - backgrounds which may yield clues as to the philosophy and ideology of those same groups. While there are isolated examples of individuals acting as urban reformers, in most cases those individuals allied themselves with one or several groups in their quest to promote the reformers' cause. Rutherford's description of reformers suggests that they were led by a small group of vocal, articulate central Canadians, influenced by international movements drawing ideas from the United States (restructuring government), Britain (town planning), France (planning) and Germany (government efficiency). [18]

Interpretations of the class background of the reformers vary. Rutherford suggests that the leaders came from:

> the spokesmen of the new middle class . . . itself a collection of at least three elements: old and new professionals, proud of their particular expertise; businessmen, committed to the efficient exploitation of the nation's resources; and women, in many cases the wives of professionals and businessmen, determined to carve out their own place in society. [19]

Weaver considers the business and professional men to be part of the upper class who gathered support from the elite as they "initiated and dominated municipal governments." [20] In keeping with Weaver's view of the strong links between reformers and business, he concludes that the reformers considered "the city as a business enterprise that had yet to shape up to corporate standards." [21]

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[18]Rutherford, *Saving the Canadian City*, pp. xii-xiv; and "Tomorrow's Metropolis," p. 382.
[19]Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis," p. 382.
[20]J.C. Weaver, *Shaping the Canadian City: Essays on Urban Politics and Policy 1890-1920* (Toronto: Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1977), p. 60.
[21]Ibid., p. 66.

Thus we are now faced with a conflict in interpretations of both the urban reformers' motives and their backgrounds. Were the reformers class-bound promoters of business principles in a decaying urban setting? Or were they altruistic saviors setting out to enhance citizens' health and living conditions?

The abundant rhetoric of reformer spokesmen sounded splendid and unassailable. A selection from the multitude of causes follows. How dare good citizens be opposed to ordering and improving the urban environment; [22] imposing "order on the chaos of urban life;" [23] making the city "healthy, moral and equitable," as well as redeeming the urban environment;[24] creating "conditions for social unity;" "uplifting the poor" and "moral regeneration;" [25] and undertaking planning as "a rational scheme of supervising the urban condition"? [26]

While both the urban reform rhetoric and the reports of the rhetoric are abundant, the results of the rhetoric have not been addressed by past researchers. What actually happened? Were there results in terms of policies and actions from the rhetoric? Was there any implementation? These questions can be addressed, in part, by a review of the literature about the beneficiaries of reform ideas and the results of the activities. As previously noted, urban reform included proposed changes to criminal justice, social justice, environment, regulation, beautification, planning and government structures. Perspectives on the beneficiaries of reform consider that both upper and lower classes may have been the intended recipients of reform benefits. Lower classes could benefit from "attempts to alleviate misery" brought on by poor health and social conditions, while middle and upper classes would benefit by attempts "to perpetuate a stratified society," all this being within "a paradise of new middle class rationality." [27]

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[22]Rutherford, *Saving the Canadian City*, p. xiv.
[23]Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis," p. 376.
[24]Ibid., p. 370.
[25]W. Magnusson, "Introduction: The Development of Canadian Urban Government," in *City Politics in Canada*, ed., W. Magnusson and A. Sancton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 17.
[26]Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis," p. 374 citing Clifford Sifton.
[27]Weaver, "Tomorrow's Metropolis Revisited," pp. 393-394; and
Rutherford, *Saving the Canadian City*, p. xx.

An example of one reform cause which could have had an impact on all classes and which can be viewed from a number of perspectives was public health reform and the "germ theory" - that "a city's health is no better than the health and sanitation of all of its districts, including its slums." [28] Disease was considered to be no respecter of social standing - "the contamination of any class would soon lead to the infection of the rest of the community." [29] It was in the self interest of the upper classes to encourage health and sanitation reforms for those of the lower classes who lived in conditions of poor housing, poor sanitation and poor health. Connections can be made between the rhetoric concerning public health and the concerns about town planning, including the provision of open space and recreation activities for various age groups.

Reform interests may have meshed with booster interests in certain circumstances, as exemplified by town planning efforts. Town planning may be viewed as being undertaken to improve the urban conditions of all residents, particularly those in less fortunate circumstances, or as business propositions derived from booster efforts to manipulate growth in the whole city to benefit upper class land owners. [30] The rhetoric would suggest that the beneficiaries were the less fortunate. However, by extension, improvement of their condition may have had an impact on conditions in the whole city.

The most pithy conclusion about the results of reform rhetoric and its consequences is as follows: "reformers . . . did nothing to alleviate the social and economic distress that accompanied Canada's urban revolution from 1890 to 1920." [31] Weaver's scathing generalized conclusion about urban reform rhetoric and activities was based upon a review of several cities in eastern and western Canada, and several causes over four decades. However, there may be isolated local success stories where reformers did succeed and changed conditions for the groups who were the professed beneficiaries of reform rhetoric.

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[28]Weaver, "Tomorrow's Metropolis Revisited," p. 406.
[29]Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis," p. 370.
[30]Weaver, *Shaping the Canadian City*, p. 33; and "Tomorrow's Metropolis Revisited," pp. 404, 413).
[31]J.C. Weaver, "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal: Businessmen and Boosters in Canadian Civic Reform, 1890-1920," *Urban History Review* (October 1976): 66.

Civic Boosterism

While urban reform can be described and labelled as a 'movement', civic boosterism has been described by Artibise as:

> both something more than a compendium of super salesmanship or mindless rhetoric and something less than a complete ideology. It was a broad, general conception that had as its central theme the need for growth; the idea that for a city to become "better" it had to become bigger. [32]

Artibise also describes the "booster mentality" as "being made up of a web of beliefs and attitudes," including the "desirability of growth and the importance of material success," with "no cooperation among cities," but with a "high degree of coordination within each city among the boosters." It also saw government as "a device to be used for the benefit of the people who managed to gain political power or influence." Finally, he notes that "the attitude of boosters toward organized labour and the poor was one of scorn." [33]

Some of the elements under the umbrella of urban reform would be viewed positively by the civic booster if they favoured booster interests - for example, regulating utilities and reforming taxes if that reduced their operating expenses, or remodelling municipal government and planning more along the lines of business efficiency, if that advanced the relative position of the city in its quest for industries and residents. Boosters might frown on the quest for social justice, the search for a healthy environment, and the demand for town planning, if the benefits cost too much or went to others than the boosters themselves and their cities.

The individuals labelled as 'civic boosters' shared common beliefs in the future of the cities in which they had chosen to live and in which they frequently had invested in businesses, land speculation and development. The background of civic boosters has been described by Artibise as:

> Anglo-Saxon protestants of relatively humble origins who had come West from the small towns and cities of the Maritimes and Ontario . . . [with] considerable experience in promoting urban growth in eastern urban centres. [34]

Artibise also identified them as being "the urban elites of prairie cities" who dominated the

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[32]A.F.J. Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities," in *Town and City* ed. A.F.J. Artibise (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1981), p. 211.
[33]Ibid., pp. 213-216.
[34]Ibid., p. 213.

decision making in their cities with little of what we would currently term citizen participation. [35] This dominance in municipal decision-making apparently relied on the individuals' common backgrounds, common business and social interests, a common vision of urban growth and common membership in groups such as boards of trade which frequently were used as "city building agencies." [36]

The rhetoric of civic booster spokesmen was abundant and optimistic. Those who opposed booster interests were termed "knockers." [37] Every city was viewed as having the potential to become a metropolis which could outshine its competitors - competitors which at times were used as comparisons if, for example, that city had achieved some status which could be emulated and, if possible, surpassed. It can be viewed as an urban version of "keeping up with the Joneses."

Part of booster efforts were aimed at achieving the status of being a city. Municipal organization was a technique of boosting. Achievement of, first, 'town' and, then, 'city' status was important for at least two reasons. Firstly, it was considered an important component of the self-image of a municipality to proclaim that it was a 'Town' or a 'City'. Secondly, it was important in terms of the amount of financial borrowing that the municipality could undertake - a point not lost on the boosters, who viewed the availability of municipal services as a key point in the promotion of their particular municipality. For example, in Saskatchewan, villages could borrow up to 5 percent of their total assessment, while towns could borrow up to 10 percent and cities up to 20 percent of their total assessment. [38] The combination of City status, expansion of municipal boundaries to encompass large tracts of developable land, the use of this size as a boostable topic and the extension of services to outlying areas (through the use of borrowed funds) combined to

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[35]A.F.J. Artibise, "In Pursuit of Growth: Municipal Boosterism and Urban Development in the Canadian Prairie West, 1871-1913," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape-Aspects of the City Building Process*, ed., G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982), p. 123.
[36]E. Bloomfield, "Boards of Trade and Canadian Urban Development," *Urban History Review* (October 1983): 77.
[37]Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities," p. 214.
[38]Ibid., p. 218.

create a package of booster rhetoric which frequently included the descriptors, "bigger," "better" and "growing."

In the rhetoric of the civic boosters, the beneficiaries of the booster efforts were to be the community at large - the public interest. This notion has been criticized as using "the myth of a shared sense of community" to justify social conformity and maintain the existing social and economic system since only a "united community could survive." [39] Whether this stimulated collective action was successful has not been frequently addressed. However, Bloomfield's review of the role of the boards of trade in Canadian urban development concludes that there was mixed success:

> on the whole, . . . there was a growing failure to apply collective action and local initiative, which had been so evident in stimulating urban economic growth, to solving the problems which resulted from growth - housing, poverty, congestion and public health. [40]

The results of the booster activities positively affected growth and development, but there was less effect on problem solving. Thus the influential few benefitted financially, but there was less positive effect on the whole community in terms of alleviating distressing housing and other social conditions. Villages became towns and then cities; they expanded their boundaries; they borrowed funds to build services; they went into debt; but they did not necessarily resolve any of the undesirable social conditions - poverty, disease and lack of sanitation.

Town plans, parks and playgrounds were all "boostable" topics if the end result would be to encourage new, affluent residents to establish themselves in the booster's city and if property values increased. A 1911 *Winnipeg Telegram* newspaper statement linking planning and parks to city prosperity epitomizes the civic booster rhetoric:

> City planning, in its narrowest form, means the improvement of city streets and beautifying of the city all round. This attracts residents, who create a demand for the products of industry, and therefore create industry, and these residents in many cases bring residents with them. Another phase of the city planning question is the improving of health conditions by providing boulevards, parks and other breathing spaces. These in turn attract strangers to the city and accordingly the city prospers. [41]

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[39]Ibid., p. 215.
[40]Bloomfield, p. 86.
[41]*Winnipeg Telegram* 10 June 1911, quoted in A.F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg a Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 271.

The rhetoric of boosterism could include health and beautification together, as is shown in a *Calgary Daily Herald* editorial headed "Beauty in the West" citing the national magazine, *Colliers*.

> With a great deal of common sense . . . the western city has decided that where there is plenty of land each house ought to have enough . . . . This leaves room for a bit of lawn or garden and makes for good health, and good health is as close to good morals as cleanliness is to godliness. Wide streets are the rule everywhere. Adornment follows. Winnipeg has shown how architecture may grace the business mart . . . . Regina has turned a dwindling slough into a lake that will jewel the approach to the new parliament buildings. Saskatoon has the makings of a palisade for millionaires. Calgary real estate operators are reaching out for the scenery on the Elbow river; all Edmonton has to do is to keep her face clean, and she can not help looking pretty. [42]

The rhetoric of civic boosters defies any time period boundaries. It is still alive in the 1980's, as evidence from local newspapers often shows. [43]

The growth of the urban centers was the result of internal forces of the urban reformers and the civic boosters and the external political, social and economic environments in which they operated. Artibise discusses both the internal and external forces and the relative importance of each set of forces, concluding that, while the external forces were important, "it was, in the final analysis, only the skill and initiative of individuals and groups that translated opportunity into reality." [44] However, the external forces were the damper on that opportunity, as a depression followed by World War I rapidly slowed growth in all of the cities.

Summary - Alliances and Opposition

While the urban reformers and the civic boosters proceeded toward their respective goals through different means, the reformers attempting to order and improve the urban environment and the boosters emphasizing growth, those goals had common elements. Both groups were attempting to enhance everyday life for civic residents, with the goal being to

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[42] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 13 April 1911, p. 6.
[43] For example, the following comment by an Edmonton alderman noted in the *Edmonton Journal* 14 April 1983 referred to downtown beautification and was headlined "City Too Ugly To Attract Firms": "One of the reasons we are losing [white collar firms] is that I don't think we have a city of enough attractions with which to compete. What attracts these people is the quality of life in a city."
[44] Artibise, "In Pursuit of Growth," p. 118.

create a better city.

The urban reformers' conception of this "better city" was defined by the city's health (including the physical, mental and moral health of its residents), and by the provision of services such as parks and playgrounds, utilities and good government which would benefit all residents. The reforms proposed can be described as being internal reforms, including services which would benefit those at the grass roots level and diffuse upward to benefit the entire city.

In contrast, the civic boosters' efforts were to encourage growth and development, the benefits of which would trickle down to all residents. Growth and industry would provide employment and opportunity for all.

Parks and playgrounds were common ground for both urban reformers and civic boosters. To the reformers, parks and playgrounds were to assist in creating a humane environment where the physical, mental and moral health of all residents would be enhanced. To the boosters, parks and, to a lesser extent, playgrounds were attractions for new residents who would bring investment and growth, and, thereby, prosperity to the city.

In principle, the urban reformers and the civic boosters could agree that parks and playgrounds would be valuable to a city. In practice they might disagree about the priority that parks and playgrounds should have in any city's planning. Conflicts could occur if the reformers' efforts to provide base level community services did not coincide with the boosters' efforts to provide efficient, businesslike government with relatively low levels of taxation. Reformers would frequently favour base level services, dispersed to all groups, including the disadvantaged, while boosters would favour highly visible attractions.

Thus, parks and playgrounds can be common ground for both reformers and boosters, but serving different purposes, based on the reformers' and boosters' different conceptions of what constituted a "better" city.

C. PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

Health, Planning and Economics

Past overviews of municipal park system development have attributed a number of functions to the parks within these systems. The functions noted in each study reflect the background of the individual author, his or her interests, and the time in which he or she was writing. Some of the common themes of past studies include health (both physical and moral), planning and economic aspects of parks. The following section deals mostly with current reviews of the functions of parks. The description of the functions of parks and playgrounds as noted in contemporary writings in the 1880 to 1930 time period is dealt with in the section "Rhetoric, Policies and Action."

McFarland's 1970 publication of her doctoral research in recreation provided the first overview of Canadian parks and recreation history and laid the groundwork for present and future research in the area. [45] In her publication she cites a comment from the late-nineteenth century by a Dr. C.P. Mulvaney of Toronto which summarizes the thoughts of many of his contemporaries about the functions of parks and recreation services - that parks were to contribute to the improvement of physical and moral health. [46] The 1981 contributions by Wright, an urban planner, reflected the contemporary conceptions of the functions of open space (urban land and water) as including recreation, aesthetics, preservation, education, conservation and production. [47]

Several researchers have discussed the economic functions of parks. Baltazavek and Schediwy addressed the topic of "why, where and for what economic reasons big public parks have come to exist in European cities." [48] One of their conclusions is that "from an economic

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[45]E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/ Recreation Association, 1970).
[46]Ibid., p. 14.
[47]J.R. Wright, "Urban Open Space in Transition," in *Proceedings of the Third Canadian Congress on Leisure Research*, eds. T.L. Burton and J. Taylor (Edmonton, Alta.: n.p., 1983), p. 441.
[48]F. Baltazevek and R. Schediwy, "The Economic Origins of Europe's Largest City Parks," *Parks and Recreation* 46 (July 1981): 15.

point of view the majority of the bigger urban green areas in the cities of Europe can be qualified as residual or marginal." [49] Their definition of 'residual' is mostly land that originally "served the purposes of public infrastructure," e.g. "former military areas, old markets, slaughterhouses, railway stations, cemeteries." [50] 'Marginal' areas include those "that presented difficulties for construction." [51] The authors indicate that many large public parks ". . . were created as 'make-work' projects" - another economic motive. [52] They imply that, while it was recognized that parks were desirable, the areas that were set aside may not have been in an appropriate location for the residents of the particular cities in their study.

Other studies suggest that there may be economic benefits accruing to those who live close to large urban parks. [53] This is not to say that the parks were developed for the purpose of contributing to the financial enhancement of nearby landowners, but only that after the creation of a park of substantial size, there are often monetary benefits to adjoining landowners.

The studies which provide overviews, use health and planning themes, or look at the economic origins of parks, supply statements about some of the functions of parks. But, they do not explain why the parks were developed, or the contributions to this development from contemporary movements and ideas. This is not intended to be a criticism of any one study, but, rather, an acceptance of the notion of using past studies as building blocks, or as a stimulus for new research. Additional explanations may come from local studies.

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[49]Ibid.

[50]F. Baltazevek and R. Schediwy, "The Economic Origins of Europe's Largest City Parks," *Parks and Recreation* 46 (July 1981): 15-16.

[51]Baltazavek and Schediwy, "Economic Origins," (August 1981): 35.

[52]Ibid., p. 40.

[53]D. Berry, *Open Space Values: A Household Survey of Two Philadelphia Parks* (Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute, 1974);
T.R. Hammer, R.E. Coughlin, and E.T. Horn, "The Effect of a Large Urban Park on Real Estate Value," *AIP Journal* 40 (July 1974): 274-277;
M.R. Correll, J.H. Lillydahl, and D. Singall, "The Effects of Greenbelt on Residential Property Values: Some Findings on the Political Economy of Open Space," *Land Economics* 54 (May 1978): 207-217; and
T.D. Schroeder, "The Relationship of Local Public Park and Recreation Services to Residential Property Values," *Journal of Leisure Research* 14 (Third Quarter 1982): 223-234.

Local Studies

Local, but not comparative, studies have been published about parks and/or playgrounds in four Canadian cities - Winnipeg, Vancouver, Halifax and Calgary. The Calgary publication is a chronology of the park system's history, emphasizing the addition and development of park sites with little analysis of the reasons behind such events. [54] The Halifax study is a description of the establishment and development of the Halifax Common and its use for recreation, with some analysis of the reasons for its establishment and for changes in its use. [55] The four Winnipeg and Vancouver studies focus on the processes by which the early development of the park systems, or individual parks, were influenced by promoters of real estate interests, business interests, or class interests. [56] The four studies have been undertaken by researchers for whom park services were an example of another social phenomenon (such as the class struggle) or the work of a particular social group (usually the commercial elite).

Two unpublished Masters degree theses have dealt with the development of parks in Calgary and Regina. Peddie's 1968 thesis concerning Calgary began with and investigated an objective asserting that careful planning was not responsible for the development of the city's parks. Laporte's 1984 thesis investigated the development of parks in Regina, 1882 to 1930, and concluded that the Canadian Pacific Railway and the provincial government, in addition to municipal councils, were responsible for the development of parks. [57]

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[54]M. Barraclough, *From Prairie to Park - Green Spaces in Calgary* (Calgary: Century Calgary Publications, 1975).

[55]S.E. Markham and C.R. Edginton, "The Halifax Common - Canada's First Park," *Recreation Canada* 37 (February 1979) 12-17.

[56]A.F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth*, 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975);
M.E. Cavett, H.J. Selwood, and J.C. Lehr, "Social Philosophy and the Early Development of Winnipeg Parks," *Urban History Review* 11 (June 1982): 27-39;
W.C. McKee, "The Vancouver Park System, 1886-1929: The Product of Local Businessmen," in *Recreational Land Use: Perspectives on Its Evolution in Canada*, eds. G. Wall and J. Marsh (Ottawa: Carleton Univerity Press, 1982), pp. 299-310; and
R.A.J. McDonald, "'Holy Retreat' or 'Practical Breathing Spot'?: Class Perceptions of Vancouver's Stanley Park, 1910-1913," *Canadian Historical Review* 65 (June 1984): 127-153.

[57]R. Peddie, "Urban Parks and Planning in Calgary" (M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1968) p. 1; and

Several local studies have been completed about cities in the United States. Studies of Chicago by McCarthy and Holt review the impact of private individuals. [58] A study of Worcester, Massachusetts looks at class struggles over both recreational space and appropriate behavior. [59] Hardy's study of Boston details the struggles between representatives of various geographic (and class) interests for the development of parks in their particular areas of the city. [60] His work provides a welcome review of the various interpretations of urban reform by historians:

> Historians have differed . . . in their interpretations of the motives behind this 'reform' impulse. An older 'progressive' interpretation has held that parks and playgrounds grew as the handiwork of philanthropic reformers who worked to create a more beautiful and livable city for all inhabitants. A more recent and more cynical interpretation holds that these same reformers had motives that smacked more of 'social control' than social uplift. [61]

Both of the major Canadian studies, by McFarland and Wright, would seem to have adopted Hardy's first category - the progressive interpretation, suggesting that the reformers' motives emphasized social uplift.

Rhetoric, Policies and Action

A criticism that can be made of many of the past studies of the development of parks and playgrounds is that the linkages between three elements are absent. The three elements are rhetoric, policies and action (deriving from the implementation of policies). One advocate of the need to assess rhetoric is Weaver. [62] His writings, in the 1970's, frequently deal with the

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[57](cont'd) R. Laporte, "The Development of Parks in Regina, 1882-1930: Private Initiative and Public Policy" (M.A. Thesis, University of Regina, 1984) p. ii.

[58]M.P. McCarthy, "Politics and the Parks: Chicago Businessmen and the Recreation Movement," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 65 (Summer 1972): 158-172; and
G.E. Holt, "Private Plans for Public Spaces: The Origins of Chicago's Park System," *Chicago History* 8 (Fall 1979): 173-184.

[59]R. Rosenzweig, "Middle Class Parks and Working Class Play: The Struggle Over Recreational Space in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1870-1910," *Radical History Review* 21 (Fall 1979): 32.

[60]S. Hardy, "Parks for the People: Reforming the Boston Parks System, 1870-1915," *Journal of Sport History* 7 (Winter 1980): 5-24.

[61]Ibid., p. 6 and notes.

[62]J. Weaver, "Approaches to the History of Urban Reform," *Urban History Review* 2-76 (October 1976): 3-11; and
J. Weaver, "Tomorrow's Metropolis Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban

need to move beyond propaganda and rhetoric to an examination of reality, motives and accomplishments.

There are many examples of rhetoric produced by advocates of parks and playgrounds, suggesting that the provision of such will cure all ailments of the body and mind. For example, Smith provides statements from the 1828 planning ideas of John Arthur Roebuck, for whom nature in open spaces in cities. . .

> was not solely an antidote for the physical diseases to which urban man was so horrifyingly exposed; it was also an antidote to social diseases of all kinds - crime, drunkenness, prostitution, pauperism, social disorganization and violence all could lose their force in the city of Roebuck's vision. [63]

Closer to home and 31 years later, in 1859, the Chairman of Toronto's Committee on Public Walks and Gardens eloquently declared that public parks were many things, including an "inestimable blessing," of "incalculable advantage" and an "inspiration," and that they would "improve the condition of all." [64]

Such eloquent orations, numerous in every city, were made by proponents who hoped fervently that parks and playgrounds would improve all conditions in the city - from the physical and mental health of individuals, to the social welfare of groups, to the physical and economic well-being of the city. In particular, the following assertions were evident:

Parks were to be the lungs of the city. [65]

Parks and playgrounds would develop the child "physically, intellectually and morally." [66]

Parks would provide examples of "rational enjoyment" while encouraging "vigorous exercise" for "physical development and health" in the interests of national defence. [67]

Playgrounds would provide the opportunity to "grow character" and prevent juvenile

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[62](cont'd) reform in Canada, 1880-1920," in *The Canadian City*, eds. G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1979): pp. 393-418.

[63]P.J. Smith, "John Arthur Roebuck: A Canadian Influence on the Development of Planning Thought in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Plan Canada* 19 (September-December 1979): 205.

[64]Toronto, Ontario, Minutes of the City Council 1859, Appendix No. 2, quoted in McFarland, p. 14.

[65]Claimed by many authors.

[66]C.A.B. Brown and J.L. Hughes, "Municipal Playgrounds," in *Addresses Delivered Before the Canadian Club of Toronto (1909-1910)*, p. 72.

[67]J.J. Kelso, "The Play Spirit and Playgrounds in Toronto," in *Empire Club of Canada*, Toronto, Addresses, 1907-1908, pp. 181-183.

delinquency. [68]

"Recreation facilities pay ample dividends in humanity by promoting the health and happiness of the people." [69]

In contrast to the abundant rhetoric supporting parks, a slightly tongue-in-cheek retrospective view of the flurries of advocacy work in Winnipeg, which were followed by little action, appeared in a local newspaper in 1898:

> A popular outcry for parks arose in the city three or four years ago. As usual when one public movement is mooted in our fair city the daily papers teemed with impassioned appeals for parks. Unless parks were established and speedily, half the inhabitants would quickly die of asphyxiation for want of "breathing spaces." Capital would forsake the town on account of its forbidding aspect, and the babies, heaven bless them, would perish miserably for want of room to exercise their chubby limbs and expand their developing lungs. So the mandate went forth, "Let there be parks." The parks commissioners were chosen and instructed to buy park sites and beautify and adorn them as speedily as possible and the average citizen having thus performed his duty, retired to his shell and thought no more about parks than if such a word was foreign to his vocabulary. [70]

The National Council of Women of Canada, the group most active in the promotion of organized, supervised playgrounds began its support of them in 1901, after lobbying from the ladies of the Saint John Local Council of Women led by Miss Mabel Peters. [71] Her work and that of the National Council through its committees and local councils is summed up by Strong-Boag: "the resulting National Committee on Vacation Schools and Supervised Playgrounds hailed 'PREVENTION' as its guiding principle." [72] The local councils of women were frequently responsible for establishing and operating supervised playground programs in Eastern Canadian cities. By 1913 that committee was able to state its mission and successes firmly:

> Its work is formative as opposed to reformative. It seeks to eventually dispense with the curfew, the juvenile court, the jail and the reform school for the young of our land. Educationists are now agreed that the public supervised playground and recreational Social Center stimulates and guides a child's life in a

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[68] J.A. Riis, "The Value of Playgrounds to the Community," in *The Canadian Club of Toronto, Proceedings, 1912-1913*, pp. 273-274.
[69] J.B. Harkin, "Memorandum re: Dominion Parks," 24 January 1914, pp. 12-13, Pearce Papers, f429.1, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, Alta.
[70] "The City Parks," *Town Topics*, 30 July 1898.
[71] McFarland, pp. 19-20.
[72] V.J. Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women, 1893-1929* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1976), p. 268.

way which no other factor of modern living can do.

> Your Committee would surround children with conditions which will prevent their being robbed of their childhood. It would give youth and adults opportunity for social enjoyment, and it welcomes to its assistance all who believe in dealing with causes not consequences. [73]

These references come from the advocates of playgrounds. The following excerpt by an early town planner, Thomas Adams, incorporates economic as well as health and moral justifications for parks and playgrounds

> . . . the health and morals of our citizens need not deteriorate if our housing and recreation facilities are developed in a proper degree . . . . In city development there are several sound reasons to justify the acquisition of park lands at an early stage of building development, not the least of which is their direct effect upon the value of city property, and therefore their indirect influence upon the city's income from the taxation of land. . . . [74]

Adams' comments, made in 1920, were an early statement of assumptions that were not tested by economists for 50 years. [75] Adams was not allied with real estate interests or business promoters. He was speaking as Canada's first professional planner, employed by the Canadian Commission on Conservation to provide advice "respecting Town Planning, Housing, and on cognate subjects." [76] His rhetoric contains examples of both urban reformer and civic booster sentiments.

The rhetoric extolling the merits of parks and playgrounds is abundant. However, the next steps are more difficult to adduce. Was there any clear, discernible and consistent link between rhetoric, policies and action? To answer this question is the purpose of the present study. The emphasis in the study is on the development of parks and recreation services, looking for factors to explain the development of these services, rather than using them solely as examples of the impact of urban reform and civic boosterism. Through the use of secondary source materials for Winnipeg, and primary source materials for Regina,

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[73]M. Peters, "Annual Report of the Committee on Vacation School and Supervised Playgrounds," *National Council of Women of Canada, Yearbook, 1913* (Toronto: National Council of Women of Canada, 1913), p. 48.

[74]T. Adams, "Parks and Playgrounds in Canada," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 16 (November 1920): 345.

[75]T.R. Hammer, R.E. Coughlin, and E.T. Horn, "The Effect of a Large Urban Park on Real Estate Value," *AIP Journal* 40 (July 1974): 274.

[76]J. White, Letter to H.M. Tory re: Address to Edmonton Canadian Club, 12 November 1914, H.M. Tory Collection, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, Alberta.

Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton, the question "were urban reform and civic boosterism significant factors in the development of parks and playgrounds?" will be addressed.

D. FRAMEWORK

In order to consider the impact that urban reform and civic boosterism had on the development of parks and playgrounds during the period under consideration, it is necessary to provide a framework in which that impact can be viewed. The components of such a conceptual framework can be obtained through a review of the literature dealing with public policy making, decision making and pressure groups. These three components of the framework are both nested, with each component having several parts, and overlapping, with common explanations in parts of each component. Policy making efforts will deal with the choice of a particular course of action as a consequence of several alternative explanations. Decision making efforts will be viewed as a process involving interaction among several key actors. The material about pressure groups will review the activities and impacts of one particular group of actors in decision making and policy making efforts.

Public Policy Making

The literature on public policy making is wide ranging. However, a useful typology has been created by Simeon. [77] In this typology he identifies five general approaches from which to view policy making, stating that policy can be "a consequence of the environment, of the distribution of power, of prevailing ideas, of institutional frameworks, and of the process of decision-making." [78] These five approaches are certainly not the only approaches to view public policy; nor are they competing approaches. They are, in fact, complementary, with each one making a substantial contribution to understanding public policy.

Before proceeding, it is useful to provide a working definition of 'policy' and thus of policy making. The definition used by Simeon considers policy as "a consciously chosen course

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[77]R. Simeon, "Studying Public Policy," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 9 (December 1976): 566-578.
[78]Ibid., p. 566.

of action (or of inaction) directed toward some end." [9] The notion of conscious choice is predominant, in contrast to actions without choice or exhortative statements and rhetoric without either choice or actions, none of which would be considered as policy making.

When considering the development of policy, it is necessary to examine both the external environment in which the policy making efforts take place and the internal processes which yield policy, as well as the links or means of access between these external environments and internal processes. The external environment includes what Simeon categorizes as "economic, social and political forces." [10] While these forces may explain much of the external influences in public policy making, the force of the physical setting also plays a part when studying policies dealing with urban planning in general and parks and playgrounds in particular. While this fourth component of the forces in the environment has been recognized, it has not been given explicit and prominent attention in the literature dealing with public policy-making. It has, however, been noted by a few writers in recreation and park administration, particularly Edginton and Williams. [11]

The typology set forth by Simeon, used as a basis by others such as Bella, Adie and Thomas, and Doern and Phidd; [12] and summarized in the section which follows, contains the following five alternative explanations to assist in understanding differences in both policy output ("what is done") and policy outcome ("its consequences for society"). [13] Although this research study is limited to four cities in two provinces, it should be possible to use these five alternative explanations to assist in explaining the policy outputs and outcomes in each city, as well as explaining variations between the cities.

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[9]Simeon, p. 557.
[10]Ibid., p. 550.
[11]C.R. Edginton and J.G.Williams. *Productive Management of Leisure Service Organizations* (Toronto: Wiley and Sons, 1978).
[12] L. Bella, "The Politics of the Right Wing Welfare State" (Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1981);
R.F. Adie and P.G. Thomas, *Canadian Public Administration: Problematical Perspectives* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982); and
G.B. Doern and R.W. Phidd, *Canadian Public Policy: Ideas, Structure, Process* (Toronto: Methuen, 1983).
[13]Simeon, p. 557.

Five Alternative Explanations

As noted earlier, the five alternative, but complementary, explanations put forth by Simeon suggest that policy is "a consequence of the environment, of the distribution of power, of prevailing ideas, of institutional frameworks and of the process of decision making." [14]

Explanations of policy which consider characteristics of the environment of politics as being important "refer to such broad characteristics as demography, geography, and levels of urbanization, wealth, industrialization, and the like." [15] Variations in these environmental characteristics are considered to produce different levels of policy outcomes: that is, different levels of product or service delivery affecting the public or private sectors. While the literature does not provide explanations of the mechanisms by which these characteristics contribute to variations in the levels of policy outcomes, the characteristics themselves may be measured to describe a threshold point after which it is considered important to engage in certain policy making endeavors, in order to remedy a problem situation. Examples of such measures may be geographic size, population size, number of children, level of illiteracy, population density, incidence of disease, amount (or lack) of open space and the relative wealth of the residents of various parts of the city.

In terms of using this explanation of policy when undertaking historical research, the actual, measurable characteristics about which there could be data available may not be as important as the perceptions of influential individuals and groups and/or decision makers that certain characteristics in the environment had reached a threshold level after which certain services were needed.

Explanations focusing on the distribution of power suggest that "the pattern of policy will reflect the distribution of power and influence, given certain patterns of division and cleavage." [16] Proponents of this approach differ in their descriptions of the distribution of power in society. The pluralists would assert that both political resources and policy benefits

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[14]Ibid., p. 566.
[15]Ibid., pp. 566-567.
[16]Ibid., p. 568.

are distributed widely and that, rather than specific, fixed, clearly defined groups having continued strong influences on policy, there can be what Stone, Whelan and Murin describe as "a constantly changing array of groups, coalescing and dividing issue by issue." [17] In contrast, the elitists would state that both political resources and benefits are narrowly distributed, usually to the economically advantaged, with the notion of self-interestedness being a possible contribution to involvement. While both groups of proponents have contributions to make toward explaining public policy, the definite link from power and influence in political resources to the distribution of the benefits of policy is not an automatic one in public policy study.

When considering the influence of either broadly-based interest groups or economically advantaged groups in the development of policy for parks and playgrounds, it will be possible to identify key individuals and groups and determine, to some degree, their bases of support, their motives for being involved in promoting parks and playgrounds and the impacts that they may have had on policy outputs, and policy outcomes, by way of the actual provision of services.

When considering cultural and ideological factors, policy is seen as "a function of the dominant ideas, values, theories, and beliefs in the society." [18] While the link between general ideological factors and specific policies may not be a direct one, the ideas may contribute to what Simeon describes as "the prevailing theories held by decision-makers about the causes of problems and how to deal with them." [19] There may be contributions to the decision makers' theories from those ideologies, from contemporary knowledge of the situations elsewhere, and from the contributions of social scientists, either of a descriptive or prescriptive nature.

The groups promoting reform and civic enhancement, which are the object of this study, frequently gained their background information and views of what services should be provided from elsewhere. For example, the journals of interest groups and professional associations, newspaper reporting and travelling guest lecturers were often cited by the local

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[17] C.N. Stone, R.K. Whelan and W.J. Murin, *Urban Policy and Politics in a Bureaucratic Age* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979), p. 192.
[18] Simeon, p. 570.
[19] Ibid., p. 572.

proponents of parks and playgrounds in their advocacy rhetoric. The influence of social scientists, particularly in their role as "experts" who could be cited regarding the benefits of parks and playgrounds, when combined with attempts to emulate centers elsewhere in Canada and the United States, may have been a contributing factor to the development of policy. The strength of this explanation comes from the recognition that policy making goes on "within a framework of assumptions, norms and values." [90] Those assumptions, norms and values can be influenced by the external environment. However, it is not consistently clear that there is a link between ideas and the resultant policy.

The approach which concentrates on the "policy consequences of the institutional structure" looks at "the formal rules and regulations of the political system." In this approach, the procedural mechanisms, the constraints and barriers to entry into the decision-making process are identified. [91]

The procedural mechanism may include the creation of advisory groups whose role is to provide a link between the decision makers and the public (or interest groups). In the time period of this research, 1880-1930, few such formal procedural mechanisms existed. However, this did not create institutional hurdles. Rather, individuals and groups who wished to approach the decision makers seemingly had few hurdles to deal with and could have items of interest placed on the agendas of the various City Councils quite easily. Merely being placed on Council's agenda did not, however, guarantee speedy discussion or favourable resolution. The consensus of writers is that, while one can look at the institutional factors, they are tied into several of the other approaches, such as the distribution of power and of prevailing ideas regarding the importance of the substance of the topic under discussion.

The final approach, looking at the "process of decision-making itself," deals with several descriptive or explanatory models of the process and the interactions between the key actors - the bureaucrats, the politicians, and the leaders of interest groups (how and why they proceed). [92] The various models of the decision-making process will be addressed below, but

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[90]Ibid., p. 573.
[91]Ibid.
[92]Ibid., p. 576.

some general observations are in order at this point.

While there may be confusion and debate in the literature as to whether these models are descriptive or normative, they are of some explanatory (descriptive) value in this study. The key notion in this approach is that of 'interaction'. A contribution to understanding this interaction comes from Cherry who considered public policy to be a product of interactions between competing groups - the politicians, the bureaucracy and community groups. [93] These interactions take place in an internally heterogeneous, changing, unstable system (a system which reflects the external environment and the power of the groups), with each party in the interactions bringing its own values and ideas to the debate. In the time period of the research study, two of the three parties noted by Cherry were most prominent - the politicians and the community groups (including key, articulate individuals). The bureaucracy was in its infancy. Many of the concerns of the community groups involved advocating that a bureaucracy be formed, or at least that a committee be formed and/or a staff member be hired to ensure a continuing commitment to the topic of concern, whether it was parks or playgrounds.

Decision Making

This brief introduction to the decision-making process, the activities involved in making decisions, draws upon the recent analyses of Canadian public policy by Adie and Thomas and Doern and Phidd. Major approaches to decision making are reviewed, including: the rational approach (comprehensive rationality), incrementalism (disjointed incrementalism and mixed scanning), the public choice approach, and class analysis.

The rational approach to decision making provides both descriptive and normative models. The descriptive model of how some decisions are made through the use of a logical process of identifying problems, generating and evaluating alternatives, selecting the best one and moving on to implement it, can be linked to the "hypothesized ideal behavior of economic

[93] G. Cherry, "Methods of Historical Research: The Case of British Environmental Planning and National Parks." Lecture at The University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, 18 November 1986.

man as consumer and decision maker" and the "belief in the scientific method."[94] Both of these streams of thought are founded on the ability to identify facts, to use reason, to measure efficiency and to establish what is 'best'. The normative model of this approach supplies, not an explanation of decision making, but rather, a general, idealized way in which decisions 'should' be made. This latter version of the approach (the normative one) provides critics with grounds for rejection of this approach as lacking explanatory value by not taking into account human beings, their abilities and resistances. However, as a model of how decisions could optimally be made, assuming complete information and information handling abilities, the model provides a standard against which decision making can be measured.

The incremental model [95] or disjointed incrementalism [96] suggests "that the best predictor of future policy is the recent past." [97] Policies are made (or remade) with little change to the status quo, with a high value placed on the "need for agreement and consensus." [98] This rather conservative approach does not completely explain why such small changes take place, nor does it take into account those situations in which substantial 'fundamental' rather than merely 'incremental' changes do take place in policy. The notion of situations involving small changes to the status quo comes about because the 'perfect' conditions required or assumed in the rational model are not present. Because clear objectives may not be available, or information may be limited, or because of time constraints or the imperfect abilities of people to generate and evaluate alternatives, it becomes convenient to make small, incremental changes to the status quo.

A modification of the incremental model is the 'mixed-scanning model' developed by Etzioni in the late 1960's. Etzioni describes this approach as combining two levels of scanning issues: the broad angle survey of issues in the environment; and the narrowly focused detailed examination of specific problem areas. [99] Doern and Phidd's view of this model is that it

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[94]Doern and Phidd, pp. 139-140.
[95]Used by Doern and Phidd.
[96]Used by Adie and Thomas.
[97]Doern and Phidd, p. 141.
[98]Ibid., p. 142.
[99]A. Etzioni, "Mixed Scanning: A 'Third' Approach to Decision Making," in

"suggests that societies do have a capacity to be fairly rational about a small handful of decisions which they scan and identify and debate, but they leave the great majority of decisions to the inexorable drift of incrementalism." [100] Adie and Thomas contribute the additional interpretation that the small handful of decisions may concern "major social innovations" [101] - those substantial, fundamental changes noted earlier. Such situations may occur in times of crisis or unstable conditions in the political, social and economic environment which are perceived as requiring innovative, new solutions. Such perceived urban crises may have been the catalysts for innovations involving the development of parks and playgrounds. While this variation could explain more than the rational or incremental approaches, there is little precise guidance regarding when to make small, incremental decisions rather than large, fundamental decisions or vice versa. Nor is there guidance as to the level of crisis or instability that is required to consider fundamental changes as necessary.

The public choice model owes some of its origins to attacks on 'public interest' models, thus resulting in a model based on the notion of the 'self interest' or calculating behavior of individuals. "Individual decision makers are viewed as utility maximizers whose behavior is best explained, not in terms of their pursuit of the public interest, but rather in terms of their self interest." [102] One proponent of this approach suggests that the policy process can be viewed "as a series of interlocking games, the special interest group game, the political game, the bureaucratic game and the media game, with each player's behavior essentially best understood in relation to the self-interest maximizing behavior of each sector's leaders." [103] Presumably, the various sectors are each pursuing their own ends, be they new programs, more votes, more resources or more readers. While this model raises questions about the policy process, particularly about the motives underlying the behavior of the actors (or players), it is not a complete alternative explanation of the reasons for policy development.

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[99](cont'd) *Planning for Social Welfare: Issues, Models and Tasks*, ed. N. Gilbert and H. Specht (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977), pp. 92-93.
[100]Doern and Phidd, p. 143.
[101]Adie and Thomas, p. 99.
[102]Doern and Phidd, p. 143.
[103]Ibid., p. 144.

Part of the debate regarding this model concerns the 'public interest' - what it really is and if self interest is its opposite. One observation that can be made about the public choice model is that each of the groups under study may well represent only its own 'public'; that there is no capability to truly define one large 'public' but rather a series of small, more specialized 'publics'. When considering the topic of this research, each of these publics in the environment had particular beliefs and opinions regarding the importance of particular issues, and about the possible benefits that could be gained by the larger public if parks and playgrounds were established and developed. Politicians may have been representing their constituents. Urban reformers and civic boosters may have considered that parks and playgrounds would help both the community's individuals and the community image. The bureaucrats (limited in number though they were) may have desired to enhance the responsibilities that they had, as well as subscribing to the sentiments of the reform and booster groups. The newspaper publishers and editors may have been interested in creating and/or promoting issues in order to sell more copies, to genuinely assist in the development of community services or to enhance their community image by raising community consciousness. The public choice approach is described by Doern and Phidd as being "tantalizingly interesting." [104] But it is not wholly explanatory. It leaves researchers to search for possible supportive examples and to question the difference between self-interest and the interests of the various specific publics, or the role of power in promoting the interests of a particular group.

The class analysis approach began as "simple versions of Marxist class conflict" and has progressed to deal with "the existence of numerous sectors or factions of capital and of dynamic relations between an autonomous state and the different classes." [105] The notions of power based on one's "ability or inability to dispose of labour" forms the basis of this approach. [106] Following from that notion, it would follow (in this approach) that there are inequalities in power and income, and thus, inequalities in how various groups gain access to

[104]Ibid., p. 145.
[105]Ibid., p. 146.
[106]Ibid.

decision makers. There are interesting links between this model of decision making and the previously noted approach that policy is a consequence of the distribution of power and influence.

The class analysis approach suggests that the state has three main functions: "to foster capital accumulation by capitalists; to foster social harmony through legitimating activities; and to coerce or otherwise maintain social order." [107] In the context of parks and playgrounds, all three of these functions, accumulation, legitimation and coercion may provide some explanation. The development of parks and playgrounds could be considered as fostering capital accumulation if the value of capitalists' property was actually increased, either directly because of proximity to parks and playgrounds or indirectly through an enhanced community image which may have led to more residents and more business. The legitimating function may be a way of viewing the development of parks and playgrounds, particularly as a result of reformers' efforts to provide services to all members of the community - to satisfy them, or as Doern and Phidd suggest "to placate the dependent classes in such a way as to ensure the dominance of the capitalist class which owns a basic means of production." [108] The coercion function, maintaining social order, can be seen in the numerous references to playgrounds as antidotes to social disorder. The belief that the provision of parks and playgrounds is the result of accumulation or legitimation or coercion may also be a renouncement of the notion of public interest. The development of such spaces would be in the self interest of a particular group, the capital owning classes - a rather pessimistic view of the motives of one group of the citizenry.

Pressure Groups

Following from the discussion of public policy making, particularly in municipalities, it is necessary to consider the role that pressure groups take in policy making efforts. While the previous discussion noted that policy making is a consequence of situations in the external environment in which policy making efforts take place, or of the internal processes which

[107]Ibid., p. 147.
[108]Ibid.

yield policy with links or means of access between the two, those links were not explored in detail. Examination of pressure groups can provide more details about those links.

The groups noted earlier as having an impact on policy making may include politicians, bureaucrats, the media and interest groups or pressure groups. The ways in which pressure groups, their power and their impact have been viewed will be briefly summarized. It is generally accepted by those studying power in communities that power is not evenly distributed. The differences throughout the literature deal with "the extent, causes and consequences of this inequality." [109]

Past approaches to the study of community power include stratification theory, pluralist theory and revisionist theory - three approaches which both criticize their predecessors and build upon them.

According to stratification theory, "a group's place in the structure of influence is determined by its economic position." [110] Through not just affluence, but control of jobs, credit and money, certain groups in the community tend to control community institutions and, through this, local politics. The economic position brings with it the capacity to bring needs onto the public agenda, and, presumably, to have an impact on the way in which they will be dealt with, possibly leading to particularly desired outcomes.

Rather than viewing the groups' origins as being based on static class lines, proponents of the pluralist theory would suggest a more dynamic relationship with "a constantly changing array of groups, coalescing and dividing, issue by issue." [111] They "see society as fractured into small special interest groups, with incompletely overlapping memberships, widely differing power bases and a multitude of techniques" to influence decision makers. [112] These small interest groups tend to be specialized, seeking to have an impact, not on a wide range of decisons, but on those closest to the individual group's specific interest. Recognizing the interplay of groups and decision makers, it is suggested that decisions reflect "mutual accommodation" of interests, through incremental policy changes,

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[109]Stone, Whelan and Murin, p. 188.
[110]Ibid.
[111]Ibid., p. 192.
[112]Ibid.

accommodating those groups most affected by the decision and working out compromises should conflict arise between competing groups. [113]

Post-1960's thoughts on the distribution of influence are stated through revisionist theory. Building upon the pluralist notion that "no one group exercises complete control and patterns of influence do change, powerful groups are nevertheless able to entrench themselves in such a way as to perpetuate a favored position." [114] Both a dynamic, ever changing array of special interest groups and a stable, unchanging entrenched set operate. Certain groups, though, have special access to decision makers. It is suggested that, while the concerns of those with such access have a broad range, there is special concern with economic growth and business interests.

Within the context of this research study, the various groups labelled as urban reformers and as civic boosters can be viewed as pressure groups whose efforts were directed at having an impact upon public policy - whether or not these groups represented the actual beneficiaries of the policy outputs and outcomes. The group whose rhetoric and actions promoted the urban reformers' cause was the National Council of Women working through the numerous local councils of women. The group whose rhetoric frequently embodied the civic boosters' interests were the local boards of trade.

The National Council of Women of Canada has been described by Strong-Boag as a middle class group attempting "to affirm community leadership, reform social structures and fix class relationships." [115] The role of the Council of Women in social reform was to promote educational, recreation and welfare services at both the local community level and the national level. The women who were members of the local councils and represented women's organizations in their community are described as having been "elevated to social leadership by their own or their male relatives' income, occupation, property and education." [116] The position of the council's members in the upper strata of the community representing the

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[113]Ibid., p. 198.
[114]Ibid., p. 197.
[115]V. Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929*, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1976), p. 2.
[116]Ibid.

community's economic power, gave the members of the council the capacity to have access to and influence upon the decision makers in the community and the nation. Issues in which the councils were active included both urban and rural education, supervised playgrounds, national parks, river beautification, conservation and town planning.

Local boards of trade were established in most Canadian cities as the country's urban centers developed. Bloomfield's review of urban records notes that between the 1840's and 1950's there were boards of trade or chambers of commerce in 621 communities in Canada. [117] Members of the boards of trade represented the communities' business interests. Thus, the activities of the boards were aimed at the promotion of activities and of economic or political climate conducive to the development and growth of business and industry. The boards promoted policies regarding physical and social development of their communities which would enhance the community's image and position and thus, hopefully, enhance their own businesses. Boards also promoted planning and government reform in the interests of business efficiency which would also portray a progressive appearance - a positive image. [118]

Pressure groups are defined by Pross as "organizations whose members act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common interest." [119] That common interest may include both self interest and public interest. For example, the groups advocating urban reform addressed a variety of causes, including social welfare, public health, planning and revisions to government infrastructure, many of which were considered to be in the public interest. The civic boosters promoted their communities with a view to population growth and civic enhancement - conditions which could possibly increase the value of property and the potential for business expansion. These conditions can be viewed as being in both the public interest of the city and its citizens and in the self interest of the boosters, who frequently were business people allied with boards of trade.

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[117]E. Bloomfield, "Boards of Trade and Canadian Urban Development," *Urban History Review* 12 (October 1983): 82.
[118]Bloomfield, pp. 83-86.
[119]A.P. Pross, "Pressure Groups: Adaptive Instruments of Political Communication," in *Pressure Group Behavior and Canadian Politics*, ed. A.P. Pross (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1975), p. 2.

Pross identifies four functions of pressure groups including communication, legitimation, self-regulation and supplementing government organizations. [120] Communication links from the external environment to the internal decision making processes can be assisted by pressure groups, as those groups both interpret and transmit the demands of that environment. As an extension of the communication function, pressure groups can serve both the legitimation function and act as supplements to government organizations. Legitimation occurs when governments use pressure groups as 'sounding boards' for ideas, possibly attempting to obtain backing or support for proposals and programs. In turn a pressure group may act as a supplier of services, in lieu of government involvement.

When studying the development of parks and playgrounds between 1880 and 1930, groups such as the local and national councils of women and the boards of trade, as well as certain individuals, acted as communication links as they approached City Councils through letters, petitions and presentations advocating the development of parks and playgrounds. As well, these groups supplied representatives to special committees or commissions whose primary purpose was the preparation of plans for services or the actual provision of services. In this way, the pressure groups both provided legitimation and acted as agents of municipal government organizations.

Pressure group involvement in policy making efforts varies in intensity and frequency. Pross has created four categories by which he describes the involvement of pressure groups. The categories range from issue-oriented to fledgling to mature to institutionalized groups. At one end of the continuum, issue oriented groups have "limited organizational continuity and cohesion," minimal knowledge of government, flexible membership and "encounter considerable difficulty in formulating and adhering to short range objectives." [121] At the other end of the continuum, institutionalized groups "possess organizational continuity and cohesion . . . have extensive knowledge of those sectors of government that affect them and their clients . . . [and have] a stable membership. Operational objectives are concrete and

[120]Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[121]Ibid., p. 11.

immediate."[122] The range between the two extremes is broad as differences occur "in terms of human, financial and organizational resources." [123] Most of the groups formed to deal primarily with parks and playgrounds were issue oriented. However, advocacy frequently came from well established groups such as councils of women or boards of trade. For these latter groups, parks and/or playgrounds were but one issue in their broader mandates.

While Pross' continuum of involvement is a useful, descriptive tool, it explains little about the reasons for pressure group formation. Some explanatory contributions about urban pressure groups are made by Higgins. [124] In this interpretation, groups attempt to reach particular goals which may involve change or preservation - "either attempting to change some element of the status quo or trying to preserve some element of it in the face of a perceived threat." [125] In the case of the development of parks and playgrounds, the efforts went into attempts to change the status quo - to improve the level of service or to enhance the community image. The tools used by the pressure groups in those efforts included the communication function noted by Pross, which Higgins refers to as "informing councils and educating the public." [126] Pressure groups such as the councils of women and the boards of trade advocated changes such as developing parks and playgrounds and operating supervised playgrounds. The groups were frequently represented on the appointed committees and commissions set up to operate parks and playgrounds.

A key to looking at pressure groups and decision makers in municipal recreation services is to identify the pressure groups and the actors within them. A problem arises when relating much of the literature to the study of parks and playgrounds. The literature dealing with both policy and pressure groups seems to be most useful when explaining concerted, deliberate policy efforts. However, policy making efforts can be described in terms of the intensity of interest in the issue, the time period of such discussion and debate, the frequency of exchanges within the debate, and the importance to the interest group. Within each of

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[122]Ibid., p. 10.
[123]Ibid., p. 17.
[124]D.J. Higgins, *Local and Urban Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Gage, 1986), p. 258.
[125]Ibid.
[126]Ibid., p. 268.

these descriptors there is a range of possible actions. Intensity of interest can range from being a central issue, with intense scrutiny and debate by the decision makers, to merely being of peripheral interest. The time period can be brief to lengthy. The frequency of debate can range from occasional to often. The importance to the interest group can range from being the sole purpose of that group to being a minor side issue. When we are dealing with municipal recreation service delivery as a topic of policy making, it will be seen that most policy efforts are dealt with as relatively low level, peripheral issues, rather than as high profile, central issues.

The Interpretive Framework

The previous three subsections have outlined the literature dealing with policy making, decision making and pressure groups. As the result of this review of the theories, and the background review of the urban west, urban reform and civic boosterism, parks and playgrounds and Winnipeg, it was possible to identify a number of elements which will most likely explain what happened during the development of parks and playgrounds in the four prairie cities. As noted earlier, the approaches through which policy making, decision making and pressure groups have been viewed are complementary rather than competing, and are both nested and overlapping. Thus, the elements which can explain the development of parks and playgrounds are also not mutually exclusive, but are complementary. Thus,each will provide a partial explanation for the four cities.

The four elements from the theories which should provide the most likely explanations are:

1) Ideology;

2) Environment;

3) Distribution of power; and

4) Rational decision-making processes.

The prevailing ideas associated with urban reform, particularly social welfare and social reform, and boosterism, primarily the enhancement of civic prestige, were frequently

noted in the background literature of the urban west in general and the development of parks and playgrounds in particular. Examples of the prevailing ideas to which policy makers were repeatedly exposed and which thus, may have influenced their decisions regarding parks and playgrounds include: the work of the Commission of Conservation and of Thomas Adams; the rhetoric of the urban reformers which stressed ordering and improving the cities; the rhetoric of the boosters which stressed the need for the cities to grow; the statements urging that parks be developed to promote better health or to enhance economic conditions; and the exhortations that supervised playgrounds be established to assist in the mission of social improvement. These ideas were transmitted by popular and professional journals of the day, by newspaper reporting, and by lectures given by experts either at national conferences or in their role as invited guests at local meetings. Thus, these ideas may be expected to have had a substantial impact in the four cities. The literature provides many examples of the rhetoric of the reformers and the boosters; however, the study of their impact through policy development and implementation is frequently neglected.

The environment of the four cities included both changing and stable aspects. Changing aspects included social conditions, political considerations and economic conditions. These three aspects are viewed as changing both on the world scale and on the local scale. While it may seem rather grand to deal at the world scale when considering the development of parks and playgrounds in four Canadian prairie cities during their infancy, world scale migrations from Europe and Asia to North America, urbanization of the prairies, world economic conditions and a World War were potential sources of impacts on the cities.

Westward and northward migration increased the population of each city, particularly in the early years of the 1910's, as noted in Table 1. The influx of new residents in each city created a demand for accommodation, leading to social conditions which were frequently cited by social reformers as a problem requiring alleviation. One mechanism promoted by the social reformers as a means to alleviate urban problems was to develop parks and playgrounds to make the city more habitable and to make the residents healthier. Thus, aspects of the social environment may explain the development of parks and playgrounds. Fluctuations in the

world economic environment had an impact upon the price paid for crops, the amount of available credit and the market for speculative land sales, thus creating crises in the various cities' tax bases and their revenue generation abilities. The political environment for each city includes both legislation which had an impact upon the city, and political decisions which affected the role of the city, such as being the provincial capital or being on a railway line.

A more stable aspect of each city was its physical setting whose features included the presence or absence of a water body for both functional or aesthetic purposes; the presence or absence of tree cover to provide shade and possibly enhance property values; and the variety of topographic features to provide either impediments to development or natural features to enhance the city. While the physical setting may have been relatively stable, views as to what constituted its positive or negative aspects not only varied between individuals and groups, but also changed over time, as did views on whether and how to preserve or amend parts of the city's physical setting. This combination of variations in the presence of physical features and changing views of it may have contributed to variation in the development of parks and playgrounds between the four cities.

The notion of the distribution of power and the backgrounds of the urban reformers, the civic boosters or the decision makers is a theme noted repeatedly in the background literature. The groups in pursuit of the public interest, who advocated changes either by reform efforts or through boosting the cities often came from middle class or business class backgrounds. It may be possible to view the class backgrounds of the various reformers and boosters as predictors of both their actions and the expected recipients of the benefits of such actions. Thus, evidence may be present to suggest that any policies and their resultant outcomes were the consequence of the prevailing distribution of power and influence, and the notions of the public interest, particularly in keeping with the perpetuation of a stratified society, whereby the reformers and boosters strove to achieve their particular group's view of the public interest and thus perpetuate their particular class' values and beliefs.

The decision making process noted in both the literature dealing with the creation of the bureaucracy to plan and develop parks and playgrounds, and that of the comprehensive

planning efforts, was rational planning, emphasizing logical, long range, structured planning. Reform efforts to restructure government organizations included the creation of professional staffs to efficiently carry out policy decisions. Professional staff members were intended to add continuity to actions over the years and to make non-partisan decisions based on a body of technical knowledge rather than supposedly biased political decisions. The theme prevalent in town planning was that of the "City Efficient," promoting health, hygiene and efficiency in addition to administering growth in the cities. Thus, rational planning and decision making involving identifying facts, using reason, measuring efficiency and establishing what is best, was the process promoted by the experts as the preferred method of proceeding.

As noted earlier, these elements are not exclusive or competing - they are complementary. For example, power has an impact on ideology, the ideas may be viewed as part of the environment, and decision making processes can be seen as part of a particular set of ideas regarding the operation of municipal policies. However, at this stage of the research exercise, they have been separated. The workability of these four elements as plausible explanations will be tested through the analysis of each of the four prairie cities in the study.

III. FOUR PRAIRIE CITIES

INTRODUCTION

A study of the evidence found regarding the development of parks and playgrounds was prepared for each city - Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton. Each study outlines the relevant secondary and primary materials reviewed in the archives and libraries, and follows this with an analysis and interpretation of that city's experience in light of the framework presented earlier. Each city is here examined separately with only occasional comparative comments being made. Full comparisons among and between the four cities will be considered later in the thesis.

While the headings in each study are slightly different, depending upon that city's local circumstances, the following list includes the topics covered for each city:

1. Establishment and development of the village, town and city - including early efforts to establish parks.
2. Park management - including the appropriate administrative structure for managing and planning municipal parks.
3. Park planning - including the work of planning experts.
4. Land acquisition and disposition - including deliberate efforts or mere good fortune in acquiring parks; as well as the sale or lease of park lands.
5. Playgrounds - including efforts to establish supervised playgrounds.
6. Comprehensive planning - including local efforts to carry out comprehensive city planning and the impact of provincial legislation. [While the comprehensive planning efforts are not directly part of the scope of this study, they are included when it appears that the development of parks and playgrounds was part of the mandate of the planning organization and the planning effort.]
7. Summary and Analysis - including a review of the principal elements of each city within the framework presented in Part II, Background Review.

These topics were selected after the documents for each city were reviewed and categorized by specific issues and events. At that point, the above topics were the ones around

which issues and events 'clustered.' While each city is dealt with separately, with little comparison between them in this section, some comparisons have been made between this study's explanations of the factors influencing the development of parks and playgrounds in the four cities and those suggested in the first published overview of Canadian parks and recreation history, prepared by McFarland. It was that first study which provided this study with a base from which to begin the research.

Some of the content of McFarland's 1970 review of *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* was noted in the Background Review, In addition she made the following conclusions about the development of parks and playgrounds:

With respect to parks, she noted:

> Local, provincial and federal governments took an early interest in municipal park development in Canada. Requests for crown land and military reservations for use as park land appear to have been readily granted and provincial legislation to permit local land acquisition was passed well ahead of any general clamor for it. Legislation permitting the establishment of parks boards, passed first in Ontario, later in Manitoba, and later still in Alberta and Saskatchewan resulted in several cities establishing parks boards while many others continued with comittees of council. . . Calgary's Council obtained legislation to establish a separate board but that legislation was later repealed by the provincial government. [1]

Concerning playgrounds, she concluded:

> The general pattern of development appears to have been: initiation by the local Council of Women, formation of a broadly representative playground association, and finally, the establishment of a civic department, in many cases a section of the parks department, responsible for playground and more general recreation programming. [2]

Regarding the role of the Y.M.C.A., a group which assisted in recreation service in several cities, she stated:

> Throughout the history of playground development, the Y.M.C.A. played a supporting role by contributing staff for planning committees, for leader courses, and for special activities. It seems apparent that many of the early playground activities were developed and had their initial testing in Y.M.C.A. programs. [3]

Finally, noting two of the cities in the study, she added:

> The growth of public recreation services in Edmonton and Saskatoon provides an introduction to two influences not previously evident in the development of public

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[1]E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/ Recreation Association, 1970), p. 15.
[2]Ibid., p. 38.
[3]Ibid., p. 39.

recreation, the service club and the community or neighborhood association. [4]

The material presented for the four cities leads to conclusions which appear to support some of McFarland's conclusions, while refuting others, particularly those conclusions about the relationship between provincial legislation and local parks boards, and the role of the local councils of women in Western Cities.

[4]Ibid., p. 46.

A. REGINA

The City

Regina was established in 1882 on a site chosen by representatives of the Canadian Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway(C.P.R.). [1] The townsite plan, adopted by the four townsite trustees in 1883, included provision for 14 parcels of land for public uses. These 14 parcels included six reserves for public gardens, six reserves for public purposes generally (e.g. parks and markets), one park and one reserve whose purpose was not designated. Merely designating these reserves on the townsite plan, however, did nothing to guarantee their development for the above noted uses. When the town limits of Regina were finally established in 1883, the boundaries included the six parcels reserved for public purposes and only two of these reserved for public gardens. The remaining parcels and surrounding land were excluded from the town. Figure 1, which follows, shows the current city and some elements of the park system which has developed.

After being originally established as a railway stop, Regina was later declared the capital of the North West Territories and the location of several administrative functions. The Territorial Council meeting place, the Lieutenant Governor's residence, the Royal North West Mounted Police depot, the Dominion Land Office, the Indian Office, the Customs Office, the Post Office and the Registry Office were all located in Regina. [2]

No matter how many offices and functions were in Regina, it was generally not considered to be a physically attractive town. Those who selected the location of the city touted it as being "the natural centre of a vast and rich agricultural country."[3] But, others were less charitable in their descriptions. Contemporary accounts by reporters from the east and abroad described Regina as being "in the midst of a bleak and treeless plain" and

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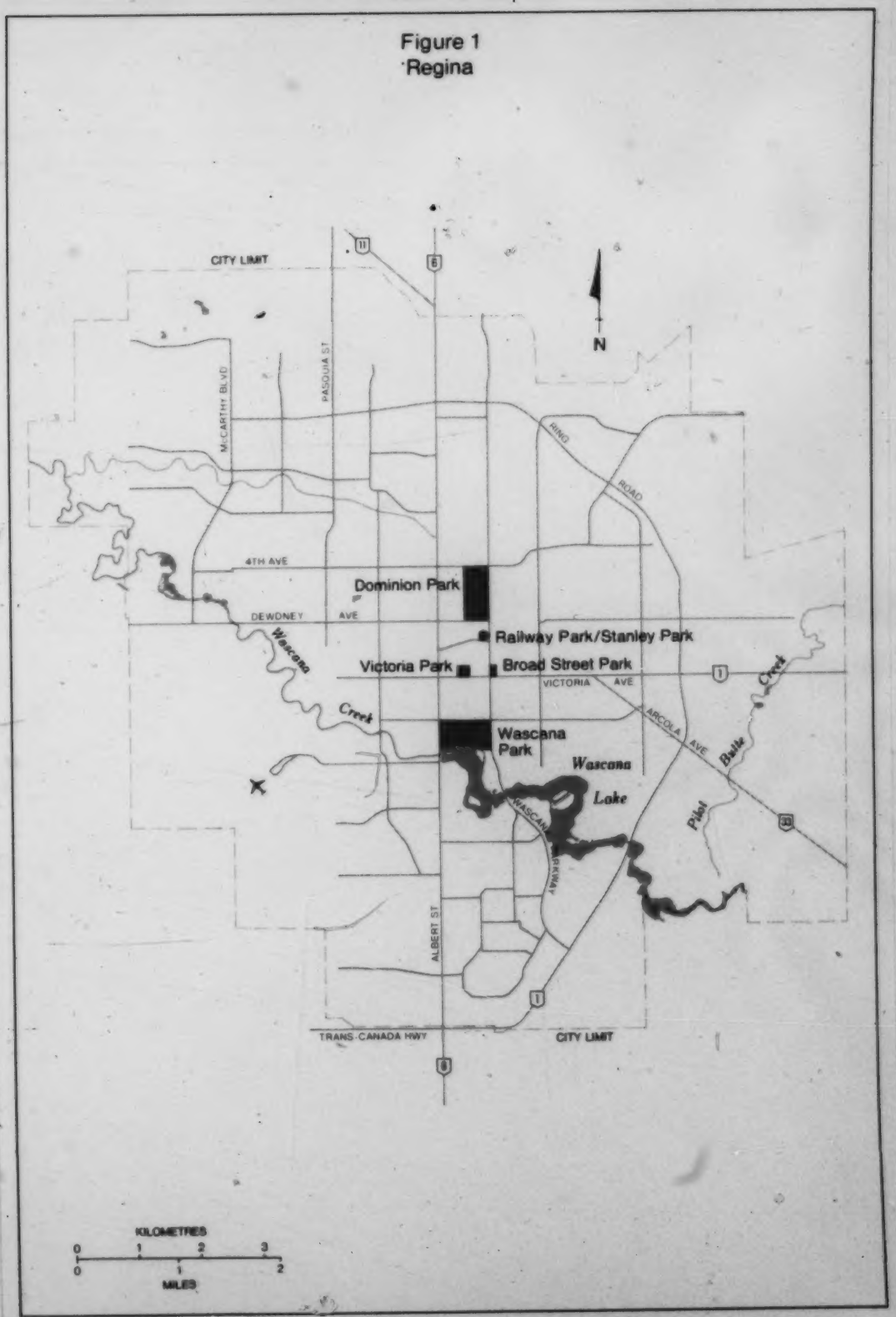
[1] E.G Drake, *Regina: The Queen City* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1955), pp. 7-8.

[2] J.W. Brennan, "Introduction: Historical," in *Regina: Regional Isolation and Innovative Development*, ed. E.H. Dale (Victoria: Department of Geography, University of Victoria, 1980), p. 4.

[3] J.W. Brennan, ed., *Regina Before Yesterday: A Visual History 1882 to 1945.* (Regina: City of Regina, 1978), p. 3, citing Dewdney.

Figure 1
Regina



portrayed the scene wherein "the nearest tree of any size is 15 miles away; [and] the land looks like a dried-up swamp." [4] In retrospect, the local newspaper, the *Regina Morning Leader*, commented in a rather understated fashion that "nature has not been very bountiful in the bestowal of her gifts on Regina." [5]

The dearth of trees led the local newspaper editor, Nicholas Flood Davin, to begin what became a lengthy campaign to promote tree planting efforts in Regina. A series of editorials, such as the following, appeared in the *Leader*, beginning in its seventh week of operation: "what an addition to the beauty of the country as well as advantage in other ways would it be if our roadsides were all planted with nice shade trees. We hope . . . that trees will be planted along Broad and Victoria Streets. Now is the time to plant trees in Victoria Square." [6] Davin's editorials continued through the summer of 1883 as he recounted the glories of tree-lined roadways elsewhere, especially in Ontario and far-off Paris. [7]

For the first two decades of the city's existence the municipal decision-makers made few efforts to develop and improve park spaces in Regina. On occasion, the *Regina Leader* (later the *Regina Morning Leader*) continued its campaign in support of beautification and horticulture through tree planting, while the Town Council's activities were limited to purchasing tree seeds and considering a proposal from the Regina Athletic Association to develop Victoria Square as a "recreation ground." [8] This proposal was supported by the *Regina Leader*, although it was noted that the proposal "may possibly be a diversion from the original intention in laying out these parks, yet it can hardly be put to better use than as a means for gaining healthful pleasure." [9] The rhetoric in support of public parks was beginnning - the park was to be "a place of beauty as well as utility." [10] "Healthful pleasure" and "utility" made the park project worth supporting.

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[4]Brennan, "Introduction: Historical," p. 3, citing *Saskatchewan Herald Battleford*, 30 September 1882; and
E.G. Drake, "Regina,1882-1955," *Canadian Geographic Journal* 50 (January 1955): 2.
[5]*Regina Morning Leader*, 14 January 1908.
[6]*Regina Leader*, 12 April 1883.
[7]*Regina Leader*, 12 April, 26 July, 2 August, & 9 August 1883.
[8]*Regina Leader*, 6 April and 20 April 1893
[9]*Regina Leader*, 20 April 1893.
[10]*Regina Leader*, 20 April 1893.

While the park development work of the Town Council alone seems to have proceeded at a very slow pace, the collaboration of Town Council and the Canadian Pacific Railway produced a park at the railway station. This park was not designated in the townsite plan, but was soon recognized as a parcel of land worth improving. Again the *Regina Leader* promoted such improvements, as it noted in March, 1884 that the block between the railway and South Railway Street could be used for "improving the appearance of the town." The newspaper's advocacy was rather blunt, as it urged residents "to make an effort to take away from Regina the reproach of being the ugliest place on the line of the C.P.R." [11]

Development of the C.P.R. park began in 1887 and, by 1894, the *Regina Leader* was able to report that "the garden on South Railway Street presents a very neat appearance." [12] The Town and the C.P.R. shared the responsibilities for this park, referred to as "The Gore," with the Town's contribution being the preparation of plans and $25.00 per month toward the gardener's salary. [13] The Regina C.P.R. station was promoted as an example of what could be developed in other prairie towns - an opportunity to boost the town's image and contribute to the residents which "would give an air of prosperity and civilization . . . . A good advertisement is achieved and the inhabitants of the towns derive genuine benefit." [14]

Town Council's deliberate action to acquire and use lands for park development did not begin until 1903. The most important factors contributing to the delay between 1882 and 1903 would appear to be the town's inability to control the direction of development and its extremely limited ability to raise revenue through taxation. When the townsite was established in 1882, control of land disposition was placed in the hands of four townsite trustees acting on behalf of three partners. The partners were the Dominion Government (50 percent of the shares), the Canadian Pacific Railway (25 percent) and the Canada North West Land Company (25 percent). [15] Of these partners, only the 25 percent of the partnership lands

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[11] *Regina Leader*, 20 March 1884, p. 4.
[12] *Regina Leader*, 16 February 1893, 3 May 1894.
[13] *Regina Leader*, 16 February 1893;
City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f733, 7 April 1896.
[14] *Regina Leader*, 12 September 1901.
[15] Drake, *Regina: The Queen City*, p. 8.

belonging to the Canada North West Land Company were taxable. This small share plus the lands sold by the trustees to private landholders provided the tax base for the Town of Regina. [16] In 1903, after frequent requests, the Dominion Government granted to the Town of Regina its lands within the townsite, with the exception of the public reserves and six other blocks.[17] When this transfer took effect, the City (status granted 19 June 1903) became a major land owner which could control the direction of its development and raise revenues through land sales and subsequent annual taxation.

Although the City was granted control over a substantial portion of its land base, certificates of title to the public reserves and six other blocks were not transferred from the Dominion Government. [18] Negotiations to acquire title to these public reserves continued sporadically for 16 years until the resolution of the matter in 1919. [19]

Park Management

Nature may not have been bountiful in bestowing her gifts upon Regina - but many attempts were made by local civic boosters and decision makers to remedy this oversight. While the decisions to carry out actions to change both the appearance of the city and the quality of services in it may have seemed painfully slow to local residents, the rhetoric urging the decision makers on to bigger and better efforts was abundant and continuous.

Deliberate efforts by Regina's influential citizens to manage and plan its parks and playgrounds began in 1904. Over the next 25 years, decision makers were urged to move beyond tree planting campaigns, to address issues about park management, park planning, land acquisition and disposition, playground establishment and supervision, and city planning.

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[16]J.L. Moser, " The Impact of City Council's Decisions Between 1903-1930 on the Morphological Development of Regina" (M.A. Thesis, University of Regina, 1978), pp. 1-2.
[17]Moser, pp. 2-3, citing Government of Canada, *Order in Council*, 6 April 1903.
[18]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f770 3 May 1906.
[19]City of Regina, Minutes of Parks and Public Property Committee, 25 September 1914;
City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 2 October 1917, 20 November 1917;
City of Regina, Minutes of the Special Committee of City Council, 3 October 1919.

Regina's parks were managed by a committee of the City Council. The responsibilities of this committee varied, as can be seen by its frequent change of title: Markets and Parks Committee (to 1906), Parks and Boulevards Committee (1907-1910), Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee (1911-1913), and Parks and Public Property Committee (1914, 1915). In 1916 Council abolished individual committees and sat itself as a Special Committee.

Although numerous attempts were made to transfer the powers of the Committee and Council to an appointed parks board or parks commission, there was limited success. Between 1904 and 1929, at least nine attempts were made to move the centre of control from the elected representatives to a set of appointed officials. The arguments supporting the suggested change in control usually included: the need to spend more time on parks matters than the councillors themselves could spare; the need to have more specific expertise than the councillors possessed; and the need to be more businesslike and more forward-looking than the councillors were apparently able to be. The promoters of an appointed body for Parks included some aldermen, the *Regina Leader*, the Board of Trade, and community groups such as ward associations and ratepayers' associations. The common theme among all of the promoters was the need to enhance parks and, through them, to enhance the whole city.

The first documented efforts to secure an appointed parks commission came from the Council Committee on Markets and Parks in 1904. The committee members recognized that the city was attempting to acquire land for park purposes from the Dominion Government and that there was a need to improve all the parks, both new and old. As well, the *Regina Leader* had been commenting on the "disagreeable condition of the so-called parks in the city." [20] The committee's recommendation to Council, that "a board of Park Commissioners be appointed," was based on its "opinion that the time has arrived that some practical steps should be taken towards the improvement of the parks." [21] With the minor dissent of one alderman, who felt that there would be considerable expenses, the report was approved by Council. [22]

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[20] *Regina Leader*, 3 October 1904.
[21] City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 3 October 1904.
[22] *Regina Leader*, 3 October 1904.

Council may have adopted the committee report and instructed the City solicitor to prepare the bylaw, but action was slow. Seven months later, the Markets and Parks Committee agreed that it was "deemed advisable that an advisory board be appointed to counsel and advise the Parks Committee." [23] Members of this Advisory Board were appointed, but their actions were not mentioned in any future documents.

The *Regina Morning Leader* carried on an occasional promotional campaign urging the residents to create a "city beautiful," learning from the experiences of the Eastern cities and, hopefully, outstripping them:

> Regina should profit by their experience and one great lesson taught by park management in the older centres of the East is that there must be continuity of policy and management in planning and carrying out a system of city parks and boulevards. There must be the element of permanence in the body managing the parks . . . . The capital city of Saskatchewan should in its way be made as beautiful as the federal capital . . . there only remains the creation of a large and systematic scheme of parks and boulevards to make it noted throughout Western Canada as the ideal home city of the plains - the Queen City it claims to be and can be. [24]

To the city beautiful and booster arguments were added urban reform arguments about business-like methods in government, as the *Regina Morning Leader* continued its campaign promoting a Parks Commission one year later:

> The absolute necessity of the inauguration of some systematic businesslike method of handling the big question of improving and beautifying the city was made thoroughly evident at the meeting of the city council on Monday night . . . a more haphazard method of dealing with an important matter could hardly be imagined, and yet the city fathers did not hesitate to transact the civic business in this way . . . which they would not for one minute countenance in the conduct of their private business matters. [25]

The editorial proceeded to further condemn the Council's procedures and then call for solutions in the form of "a broad, complete and permanent plan," "a commission of disinterested gentlemen," an adequate appropriation and "an expert landscape gardener to superintend the work."

The editor's call for planning and management played upon both reform and booster sentiments as she concluded that "the Parks Board or Commission plan is the accepted modern and efficient way of beautifying cities which prevails in all progressive and up-to-date

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[23] City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 17 July 1905.
[24] *Regina Morning Leader*, 14 January 1908.
[25] *Regina Morning Leader*, 21 April 1909.

communities." [26] Decision makers in Regina were thus called upon to form a Parks Board, not only because it would be an efficient and businesslike means of handling park matters, but also because it was a means of showing that Regina was a progressive community.

City Council not only ignored the newspaper's 1908 proposal, and ignored similar efforts in a week-long, five editorial campaign for a "Parks Board for Regina" in September, 1909, it also defeated a Parks Commission Bylaw sponsored by an alderman in May, 1910. [27] During this latter attempt, the *Regina Morning Leader* continued its campaign for a parks board or commission using the booster rhetoric that this body was present "in all really progressive modern cities," - calling for a specialized body of people who could give parks its "undivided attention" and urging citizens favoring this body to mail a coupon (supplied by the paper) to the mayor. [28] The coupon mailing campaign produced a mere 19 submissions to the Mayor - and few of the Council were impressed by this limited show of community support. [29]

City Council was not prepared to share any of its power with a parks commission. One of the aldermen was quoted as stating that Council members:

> were elected . . . to transact the people's business - were responsible to the people - and he did not think that they should delegate power to transact any of the city's business to a committee who were outside the control of the people. [30]

However, eight months later the aldermen did agree upon the need to appoint a superintendent of parks and the need for a "definite plan of operations." [31] In a sequence of events that could be considered somewhat irregular, the Committee met with a candidate, advertised the competition, and selected the candidate with whom it had met. At the Committee's January 17 meeting, members agreed to "meet Mr. Malcolm Ross with the object of finding what arrangements could be made and on what terms his services could be obtained for the city." Very soon after, the committee was ready to advertise for the park

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[26] *Regina Morning Leader*, 21 April 1909.
[27] *Regina Morning Leader*, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13 September 1909.
[28] *Regina Morning Leader*, 5 April 1910.
[29] *Regina Morning Leader*, 3 May 1910.
[30] Ibid.
[31] City of Regina, Minutes of Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee, 17 January 1911.

superintendent position hoping to attract a candidate "conversant with western conditions." [32] Mr. Ross took up the position of Park Superintendent. shortly after this.

With the hiring of a staff person, the Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee turned its attention to considerations about appointing a parks commission. The matter was discussed and deferred by the Committee. [33] However, when the Board of Trade took up the cause of promoting a permanent parks commission, touting it as being "essential to the best interests of the City [which] . . . has proven unqualified success in other cities," the issue became active yet again. [34]

The Committee took up the deferred matter, asking for the City Solicitor's opinion as to Council's power to appoint a parks commission. The opinion handed down was that he could "find no legislative authority either in the City Act or generally whereby the Legislature intended to confer authority upon the City to appoint a Parks Commission." [35] Since the City was not specifically permitted to do something, it would not do so. The Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee of Council apparently felt sufficiently in favour of such a commission that they appointed "a Committee to go into the whole matter of obtaining the legislative powers for the appointment of a Parks Commission or similar public bodies to attend to all matters of civic improvement." [36]

The investigating committee was not quite as positive. It reported that "the appointment of a Parks Commission is not advisable" - based on the notion of municipal government becoming "too cumbersome with possibly too little control on the part of the citizens." Rather than having a commission with a relatively narrow mandate, the committee recommended that there should be a broader, more encompassing City Planning Commission or Civic Improvement Commission with powers to deal with many planning concerns, such as

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[32]City of Regina, Minutes of Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee, 31 January 1911.
[33]City of Regina, Minutes of Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee, 21 February 1911.
[34]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7009 8 April 1911.
[35]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7009 30 May 1911.
[36]City of Regina, Minutes of Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee, 30 May 1911.

zoning, preserving "objects of historical interest or natural beauty," selecting sites for parks, schools, cemeteries, libraries, reading rooms, fire halls, plus the purchase or expropriation of land and the hiring of expert staff for such a commission. [37] These very sweeping recommendations were adopted by the Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee in 1911.[38] However, the recommendations were not acted upon, as the proposed discussion by City Council, sitting in Committee of the Whole, does not appear to have occurred.

A year later, yet another delegation appeared before Council to promote the formation of a parks commission. [39] Its proposal, complete with a draft Bill for the Council and the Provincial Legislature, was passed to the Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Commission. The Clerk reported in January, 1913 that "a draft Bill has been prepared . . . and is coming before the provincial Legislature at its present SESSION providing for the formation of a Parks Commission." [40] The Draft Bill was not passed and no Commission was formed.

The major planning issues of 1913 and 1914, which included the call for a parks expert and the hiring of the Thomas Mawson firm to prepare a plan for city parks, coupled with the decline in the city's financial fortunes, may explain an ensuing eight-year silence on the issue of a parks commission or parks board. It was not until 1920 that another attempt was made to promote a parks board. An alderman who had proposed the creation of a parks board as part of his election campaign received support from the other members of City Council on the matter. The City Solicitor was authorized to consider a parks board. [41] The *Regina Morning Leader* again supported the idea. [42] Support was also evident from at least one local group, the North Side Ratepayers Association. [43] But in the end, the bylaw for the

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[37]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7009 20 November 1911.
[38]City of Regina, Minutes of Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee, 20 November 1911.
[39]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 29 November 1912, 2 December 1912; City of Regina, Minutes of Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee, 18 December 1912.
[40]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f6001 10 January 1913.
[41]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 20 January 1920; *Regina Morning Leader*, 21 January 1920.
[42]*Regina Morning Leader*, 21 January 1920, 15 June 1920, 19 March 1921.
[43]City of Regina, Minutes of the Special Committee of City Council, 27 February

Parks Board was struck from the Council agenda in June 1921. [46]

After the Parks Board bylaw was struck from the Council's agenda, the idea was not considered for another six years. Between 1927 and 1929 the Regina Board of Trade considered parks and playgrounds planning issues several times and directed its resolutions to City Council. [45] The Board of Trade's resolutions may have had some effect. In October 1927, as Council considered its plans for park establishment and development, one alderman "thought the appointment of a commission was worthy of consideration." [46]

The Board of Trade's work in support of some form of parks commission can be traced to its early support of civic improvement and town planning. The Board's Research and Civic Service Committee was organized in February, 1929 and included a Parks, Streets and Recreation subcommittee. [47] In May, the Committee recommended that there be an Improvement Commission. [48] By November the Committee had refined its recommendation to create "a joint Parks Commission with the City and Provincial Government to follow the plan adopted at Ottawa in its respect as federal capital." [49]

Earlier in 1929 Council had briefly mentioned the parks commission notion with a decision to send a resolution "to the Union of Saskatchewan Municipalities re legislation amending 'The City Act' to enable cities to establish a 'Parks Commission'." [50] This action was rather reminiscent of Council's efforts in 1912. Council's response to the Board of Trade resolution was deferred until the last Council meeting of 1929, at which time Council's decision was to temporize - "the motion for a Joint Parks Commission [would] stand over for

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[45](cont'd) 1920;
City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 12 June 1920.
[46]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 23 June 1921.
[45]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 24 March 1927;
City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 25 March 1927;
City of Regina, Minutes of the Special Committee of City Council, 24 March 1927;
City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 31 March 1927;
Regina Board of Trade, Minutes, 29 March 1929, 9 May 1929, 15 November 1929.
[46]*Regina Morning Leader*, 5 October 1927.
[47]Regina Board of Trade, Minutes, 29 March 1929.
[48]Regina Board of Trade, Minutes, 9 May 1929.
[49]Regina Board of Trade, Minutes, 15 November 1929.
[50] City of Regina, Minutes of the Special Committee of City Council, 25 April 1929;
City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 7 May 1929.

another year." [51]

Regina ended the 1920's in the same situation that it had been 25 years earlier - again considering the idea of a Parks Comission.

Land Acquisition and Disposition

Efforts by the Town (and later the City) of Regina to acquire and, on occasion, dispose of land were affected by the Townsite Trustees, the Dominion Government, the Provincial Government, and local interest groups. The pre-1904 efforts of the City to acquire the Dominion Government part of the Townsite Trustees site have been documented in the introductory portion of the study of Regina. By 1904, when the first serious attempts to manage and plan the City's parks began, Regina's park land inventory included two developed parks, covering 7.5 acres - Victoria Park (7 acres) and Stanley Park (0.5 acres). The public reserve lands which later became Broad Street Park, Dominion Park and Wascana Park were neither under the City's control nor developed.

The first major efforts to acquire additional parkland began in 1906 when the city entered into discussions with the Dominion Government to acquire land in the northern part of the city. After two years, the Dominion Government granted 195.95 acres for what the City first called Northern Park, and later renamed Dominion Square or Dominion Park "for the purposes of public parks and recreation grounds only." [52] The *Regina Morning Leader* considered this to be a positive step toward dispersing the parks throughout the city and serving the residents of a rapidly growing part of the city:

> With ample provisions for public parks in southern, western and central portions of the city, Regina is now practically assured of a park of substantial dimensions for the northern section of the city. [As well, they noted] . . . the importance to the city of getting land for the purpose of enlarging the cemetery and affording facilities for parks and recreation ground purposes rendered necessary by the rapid growth of the section of the city lying north of the C.P.R. tracks. [53]

In 1906, the City received title to the parcel designated on the Townsite Plan as "Public Park" - an area south of the city limits bounded by the reservoir. The City recognized the value of

[51]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 30 December 1929.
[52]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f747 6 January 1908.
[53]*Regina Morning Leader*, 5 August 1907.

the park and successfully sought to acquire a strip of land between the park and 16th Avenue in order to prevent other developers from using it, as was noted by the City Clerk:

> The purpose for which the City wish to acquire this land is with a view to preventing others obtaining it and building thereon, which would spoil the appearance of the park that the City lately acquired, and which they purpose to beautify with a view to adorning the City as well as for the purpose of enabling the City to not only improve the appearance of the park from 16th Avenue, but to permit them increasing the width of the Avenue and boulevarding it with trees in order to form a carriage drive as a further improvement to the City. . . . Regina is built on a treeless plain and the Mayor and Aldermen as well as the citizens are very desirous that something should be done to make their city more pleasing and attractive to the eye. [54]

This request was granted by the Dominion Government in 1908. [55]

The City sponsored a competition in 1906 "for the best design of a public park on their land fronting Wascana Creek." [56] However, another possible use of the park soon arose. The City offered to convey the park to the Saskatchewan Government for the Provincial Buildings. The Provincial Government declined the City's offer, preferring the site that it had chosen on the south side of the reservoir. As an alternative the Provincial Government proposed that Wascana Park be part of the general landscape scheme of the grounds prepared by F.G. Todd. The City accepted this offer whereby the Province would pay for the landscape scheme, although not for any of the actual site development. [57]

The previous discussion has addressed land acquisition, however there were two controversial attempts to dispose of recreation land. Those two dispositions affected Wascana Park and Dominion Park.

In the interests of enhancing the city and encouraging building and investment, in 1912, City Council granted the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (G.T.P.R.) permission to use land in the northwest corner of Wascana Park as the site for its grand hotel development, the Chateau Qu'Appelle. [58] This action created a dispute about four issues: the city's permitting part of Wascana Park to be used for the hotel, no matter how grand it would be; the amount

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[54]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f769 14 February 1906.
[55]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f745 16 January 1908.
[56]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f769 21 March 1906.
[57]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f769 9 August 1906, 28 September 1906.
[58]R.E. Laporte, "The Development of Parks in Regina, 1882-1930: Private Initiative and Public Policy" (M.A. Thesis, University of Regina, 1984), pp. 134-141.

of concessions given to the G.T.P.R., including a minimal annual rent ($25.00); a reduced assessment for general municipal purposes ($100,000 assessment on a building of which the development cost was to be $750,000); and the decision making process used by the Council. (It met with the G.T.P.R. representative 'in camera' and did not give the burgesses a chance to express their opinions). Objections to City Council's actions came from two local newspapers, some aldermen and citizens, one of whom sought an injunction to prevent Council from acting. All objections were eventually overridden and the hotel construction began in 1912, but the economic conditions caused the developers to halt in 1914. The naked girders and unfinished, unkempt site remained an eyesore in the city until 1927 when the C.P.R. removed the structure as part of the agreement to construct the Hotel Saskatchewan across from Victoria Park. [59]

The property which had been one of the City's largest land acquisitions became the focus of the most protracted debate over its use. Dominion Park was granted by the Dominion Government in 1908 for public parks and recreation grounds. [60] By 1912 Council's Park's Boulevards and Cemetery Committee recommended that because the park was on the midst of the warehouse district, it would be:

> in the best interests of the City would the East half of it be placed on the market for warehouse sites, and the proceeds devoted to acquiring other sites in various parts of the City. [61]

Over the next five years, arrangements were made for the sale, T. Eaton Co. bought the property for $100,000 but the federal government confiscated the funds, using as its rationale that the park had been granted for public parks and recreation use. [62] Between 1917 and 1927 the legal proceedings regarding the question of ownership (the City or the Dominion Government) involved the acquisition of quit claim deeds, the transfer of ownership, a judgement of title and a decision in the Federal Exchange Court. By that decision the City

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[59]Ibid., pp. 135-141, 161-162;
Regina Morning Leader, 15 July 1921, 21 July 1923.
[60]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f747 6 January 1908.
[61]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 4 March 1912.
[62]City of Regina, Minutes of Special Committee of City Council, 20 November 1917.

received $78,706.63 for the Dominion Park land.[63]

Park Planning

While the ideas employed in promoting the acquisition, planning and the management of city parks were very often interrelated, the legislative actions regarding the two were quite separate. Regina City Council did not have the power to authorize a separate appointed body to manage the parks - the Province's 'City Act' did not permit this diffusion of power. The City Council did, however, have powers to plan parks and to deal with day-to-day management by staff.

It is possible to identify four separate sets of actions in the City's attempts to produce plans for Regina's park system. On two occasions, outside expert planning consultants were commissioned to do the work, while on two further occasions, local staff and appointed officials were directed to do the planning. The outside experts were Frederick G. Todd of Montreal in 1907, and Thomas H. Mawson of London, England. Mawson's efforts began in 1913 and were finally received and paid for ten years later in 1923. The local schemes were produced by Parks Superintendent Ross in 1912-13, and by a Special Committee of Council between 1927 and 1929.

The Todd Plan

The Todd plan was the smallest in scale of the four efforts. The Montreal landscape architect was commissioned by the City in 1906 to prepare "plans for Victoria Park, Regina and for boulevarding certain streets here." [64] Todd had previously visited Regina in connection with his work for the provincial government on the Legislative Grounds; [65] and it appears that he laid the groundwork for the Victoria Park commission during that visit:

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[63]City of Regina, Minutes of Special Committee of City Council, 28 April 1927.
[64]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f768 27 December 1906.
[65]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f768 2 January 1907; and
R. Rees, "Wascana Centre: A Metaphor for Prairie Settlement," *Journal of Garden History*. (July - September 1983): 220.

> . . . when I was at Regina I had some conversation with the mayor at that time and as he thought your city might possibly ask me to take up the matter later, I made sufficient notes with regard to Victoria Park to prepare a plan without further visits and I think I am also familiar enough with the streets to give you any suggestions for boulevards which you may require. [66]

Mr. Todd's plan arrived within three months, was accepted by the Council and work was authorized. [67]

Accepting a plan for Victoria Park did not necessarily ensure its implementation. Nine months after the plan's acceptance, the *Regina Morning Leader* carried a sketch of it and complained that:

> Mr. Todd's drawing has in view the making of the most of the space from a beauty standpoint. The park on the contrary, is apparently being laid out to serve as a short-cut-to-dinner for people living in one particular section of the city. [68]

The Todd plan had been received and partly followed, but its primary contributions may have been to make Regina aware of park planning ideas, and of the concept of planning the municipal parks such as Wascana Park in conjunction with the Provincial Legislative grounds for an overall parks scheme.

The Ross Scheme

Regina was occasionally visited by other city planners from afar. For example, Mr Henry Vivian, MP and planning expert from Britain visited early in 1911. [69] Later that year, Mr. and Mrs. Dunnington-Grubb, town planning experts and landscape architects, visited the west and wrote in advance offering to deliver a lecture while in the area [and possibly hoping to stimulate some business for their consulting firm.] [70] The visits by planners from Britain, the U.S.A. and eastern Canada contributed to a heightened interest in planning in Regina and in the other cities examined in this study. In several instances, this interest in planning was

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[66]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f768 2 January 1907.
[67]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 20 March 1907.
[68]*Regina Morning Leader*, 6 November 1907, p. 2.
[69]*Regina Morning Leader*, 10 May 1911.
[70]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7001 11 July 1911, 26 July 1911, & 18 August 1911.

taken up by local individuals or groups, or by city council.

Early in 1912, the City Council anticipated that it would have a fund of money, derived from the sale of part of Dominion Park, to use to acquire additional park land throughout the city. With the expected funds, it was then deemed appropriate to find parcels for future parks. Council appointed two of its members, together with the Superintendent of Parks (M.N. Ross) to serve as a subcommittee "to ascertain and report to Committee as to sites available for acquisition for additional parks." [71] Later in 1912, the subcommittee produced a preliminary report (the Ross Scheme) which included recommendations for land acquisition at a number of sites, including large acquisitions outside the city limits at Hungry Hollow and Boggy Creek. The Commissioners requested that these latter two sites be removed from the report and that it be resubmitted. [72] In the meantime, Mr. Ross had resigned his position with the City to accept the position of Landscape Architect for the Provincial Government. [73] The recommendations of this subcommittee were not immediately adopted, although some of the sites were considered in the late 1920's. [74]

Very little action then occurred in park planning, although the City proceeded to discuss the benefits of city planning in early 1913. The *Morning Leader* announced the end of the Ross Scheme and noted the new direction taken by Council:

> The report of Parks Superintendent Ross over which there has been much ill-feeling and bickering will not in all probability be taken up by council but instead it was decided last evening to secure the services of a landscape architect of international reputation to draft a complete plan. [75]

This report was followed by a pronouncement from the Mayor that the City would "secure a competent expert to plan the city in the best possible way," with parks and playgrounds being included in the list of issues to be addressed. [76]

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[71]City of Regina, Minutes of the Special Committee of City Council, 21 February 1912.
[72]City of Regina, Minutes of the City Commissioners, 26 October 1912.
[73]City of Regina, Minutes of the City Commissioners, 16 October 1912.
[74]City of Regina, Minutes of the City Commissioners, 26 October 1912.
[75]*Regina Morning Leader*, 4 February 1913.
[76]*Regina Morning Leader*, 10 March 1913.

In late 1912 and early 1913 the word of Regina's interest in park planning and city planning spread to expert consultants in the east and south. The Minneapolis firm of Anthony U. Morell and Arthur R. Nicholls, Landscape Architects and Engineers, was the first to communicate with City Council. [77] It appears that Mr. Morell was coming to Saskatoon and Edmonton in connection with the firm's contracts there and said that he would "be very glad to arrange to stop in Regina on his way." [78]

Another firm, the Canadian Public Service Corporation ("In Process of Incorporation") expressed interest in Regina and declared that it was "now in a position to offer expert advice and to present plans for improving towns on the most scientific models."[79] The firm played upon both the booster and efficiency sentiments of the decision makers in the growing city:

> Edmonton and Calgary having neglected, in the earlier stages, the essential features of city planning upon scientific lines, have recently sent for a British expert at a cost of $40,000 to devise a municipal scheme that will be very costly in each case, and would have cost comparatively little if the work had been done when the cities started to grow.
>
> We offer to send to you an Expert of experience and ability for a very small sum to examine carefully into all your town needs and advise upon the best, most effective and economic measures of meeting these needs . . . for a sum in the neighborhood of $1500. [80]

The proposals of both companies were received by the Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee and filed. [81]

Then Mr. Thomas H. Mawson, most likely the British expert referred to above, came to Regina as part of a North American lecture tour.

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[77]City of Regina, Minutes of the Parks, Boulevards and Cemetaries Committee, 18 December 1912;
City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f6007 18 February 1913;
City of Regina, Parks, Boulevards and Cemetaries Committee, 15 April 1913.
[78]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f6007 18 February 1913.
[79]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f6007 25 February 1913.
[80]Ibid.
[81]City of Regina, Minutes of Parks, Boulevards and Cemetaries Committee, 15 April 1913.

The Mawson Plan

The lengthy saga of Mr. Mawson's involvement in Regina's planning began a year before he was commissioned to do a plan for "a park system, to include a system of children's playgrounds and other recreational facilities, as well as City gardens and parks with connecting parkways." [82]

Mawson made several trips from England to North America to lecture in Canadian and American cities. He felt that he "had now, metaphorically speaking, annexed America and made this vast continent a part of [his] sphere of influence." [83] He was very pleased at the Canadian interest in city planning and what he interpreted as "leaning towards the Old Country for guidance and help." [84]

Mr. Mawson's presence in North America is one example of the considerable influence that British planners, including Thomas Adams and Henry Vivian, attempted to have on Canadian planning at the time. Mawson said that he was:

> very anxious that the English School of Town Planners should exercise a wide influence on Canada and the Colonies, [and] that for some unaccountable reason I seemed to be one of the chosen apostles whose appeal was exercising an influence. [85]

He appears to have been falsely modest. What he terms an "unaccountable reason" can, in fact, be readily accounted for. He had numerous acquaintances in influential positions, as well as members of his planning firm based in Vancouver, who contacted cities such as Regina to inform them of any impending visits by the planner and of his availability for visits with members of City Council. [86] In the case of Regina, the visit was arranged and carried out after a proposal prepared by Mawson was sent to the commissioners suggesting that he undertake work for the City. [87]

In the spring of 1912 Mawson toured Canada, carrying out a series of lecture engagements that had been arranged for him by the Governor General, Earl Grey, and the

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[82]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 17 June 1913.
[83]T.H. Mawson, *The Life and Work of an English Landscape Architect* (London, 1927), p. 187.
[84]Ibid., p. 188.
[85]Ibid., p. 191.
[86]City of Regina, Minutes of the City Commissioners, 19 February 1913.
[87]City of Regina, Minutes of the City Commissioners, 13 May 1913.

Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden. In Mawson's words:

> The goodwill shown me by the Premier . . . was of the greatest assistance in securing introductions and requests for lectures in city planning from a dozen important centres [including Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon and Calgary]. [88]

Mr. Mawson's first visit to Regina was in April, 1912 when he delivered a lecture on the principles of city planning - embellished with numerous examples of "Mistakes of the Old World." [89] The second visit, a year later in 1913, was as a guest of the Lieutenant-Governor and his wife, whose hospitality included providing the internationally renowned planner with a carriage, coachman and footman when Mawson arrived in Regina. [90] After his lectures and interviews, he left town with commissions for the Legislative Building grounds, the Government House site and the Regina park system. He was most complimentary about the city and stated publicly "that in Regina there is the material for the making of a beautiful city and that by planning it will be one of the most beautiful cities of the Dominion of Canada."[91] One may suspect that this is exactly what the decision makers may have wanted to hear from such an eminent planner from afar (a planner who was also boosting himself). He urged the councillors to develop parks and playgrounds for a number of reasons, including "their effect on the development of a healthy, strong race of people." [92]

These compliments and exhortations were dropped on fertile ground. Members of the civic administration, including the mayor were promoting city planning. Two months earlier, in March 1913, the Regina City Planning Association had been formed. That month the Mayor had stated that "the city is going to secure a competent expert to plan the city in the best possible way," and continued that, while "town planning may be considered from a good many phases. The general conception of the movement is the laying out of parks, streets and playgrounds." [93] In addition to the planning organization, the Regina Playground Association had been organized a year earlier (in March 1912) and was promoting the equipping and

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[88]Mawson, p. 188.
[89]*Regina Morning Leader*, 11 April 1912, p. 5.
[90]Mawson, p. 199.
[91]*Regina Morning Leader*, 13 May 1913.
[92]Ibid.
[93]*Regina Morning Leader*, 10 March 1913.

supervising of playgrounds in the city.

Council approved the hiring of Mr. Mawson and his firm. The City Commissioners' report gives an indication of some of the background influences leading up to this decision to carry out city planning work:

> Your Commissioners have had representations made to them on several occasions recently to the effect that the time has arrived when it is necessary to have consideration given to the question of preparing and deciding upon a concrete scheme for the beautification of the City by the provision of Parks, Boulevards, Playgrounds, etc. [92]

The city administrators were receiving pressure to begin planning, both specifically for parks and playgrounds and generally for the city as a whole. This pressure, coupled wth Mr. Mawson having been commissioned to prepare a plan for all of the provincial government's land holdings, made it convenient to hire him. It was considered reasonable that the plans for parks and playgrounds could complement his plans for the Government property, and thus serve the general public interest.

Mawson's work was commissioned in 1913, but his interim report for city parks and playgrounds was not received until 1921, and the plans were not available for viewing by the Council until 1923. [93] During the intervening ten years much negotiating took place as Mawson's firm requested payment of installments toward the contract and authority to proceeed with completing the plan. While the City's precarious financial situation of 1914 very likely contributed to the problems of paying the expert planner, there were also legislative problems. The city expected that it would find itself in a situation where it had a plan with specific sites designated for public uses, but without any legislative authority to carry this out through purchasing and expropriating land. They expected that this would lead to action on the part of speculators and a rapid increase in the price to be paid for the land that the city wanted. [94] Thus it was deemed to be safer to leave the plans in Mawson's hands until the

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[92]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 17 June 1913.
[93]City of Regina, Minutes of the Special Committee of City Council, 14 July 1921; City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 16 January 1923.
[94]City of Regina, Minutes of Parks and Public Property Committee, 25 January 1915;
City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f721 28 January 1915.

legislation to implement the plan was in place. [97] As the city administrators hoped that they could get legislation for what they termed, the "City Planning Scheme," in place before the expected early session of the Legislature of 1915 and their solicitor was directed to get the legislation ready. [98] Limited successful action seems to have taken place, as two months later the Commissioners were again considering the need to take up the matter of legislation at a conference about the 'City Act' "with a view to obtaining power from the Legislature to expropriate for parks purposes." [99]

Mawson's interim report was completed, displayed and filed. What had begun in 1913 as a contract for a park system including playgrounds, recreational facilities, City gardens and parks with connecting parkways, became by 1921 "A Preliminary Report on the Development of the City" with sections dealing with "Regina: Present and Future;" "Road Traffic Problems and Suburban development;" "The Central Area;" and lastly, "The Park System" which included "the protective belts of plantation," "The Wascana Creek and Lake Parkway" and "The Boulevards with the smaller parks and open spaces." [100] The 1913 contract was for the Mawson firm to complete the plans for $8,000. In the end, the firm was paid $6,000 and directed not to complete the final plan. [101] The plan document itself was not explicitly referred to in future planning efforts, but there were ideas, such as the use of lands which reverted to the city for nonpayment of taxes for parks and playgrounds, which were later implemented.

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[97]City of Regina, Minutes of Parks and Public Property Committee, 25 January 1915.
[98]City of Regina, Minutes of the City Commissioners, 1 February 1915.
[99]City of Regina, Minutes of the City Commissioners, 5 April 1915.
[100]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 17 June 1913; and
T.H. Mawson and Sons, *Regina: A Preliminary Report on the Development of the City* (London, 1921).
[101]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 16 March 1915, 16 January 1923; City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f709 telegram 1917.

The Special Committee of Council

When Council contemplated the sale of its Dominion Park site in 1912, it had intended to use the proceeds to purchase other park sites throughout the city based on the rationale that it would be better to have cash for land acquisition than to have a park in the warehouse district. [102] After 15 years of legal wrangling (whether the Dominion Government or the city owned the land) $78,706.63 was received for Dominion Park. [103] In October 1927 Council decreed:

> THAT the monies received . . . as payment for . . . Dominion Park shall be and are hereby appropriated for the development of Parks within the City of Regina.
> THAT suitable locations in each quarter of the City be now set aside and developed as Parks, these Parks to be of the area suggested.
> AND FURTHER, that a Park Committee be appointed and authorized to arrange the details. [104]

Two years later, in 1929, the Parks Committee reported. Most of the sites selected by the committee were parcels which the City was acquiring because the owners had defaulted on the payment of taxes. The committee's planning procedure was really a site selection procedure which involved identifying general areas of the city where it wanted to acquire land and then readjusting the "plan" after considering the properties that had reverted to the City.[105] When this procedure was not possible, it proposed land trades between the owners of the desired properties and the city itself. [106]

The Committee's actions provided Regina with the most concrete, attainable and politically acceptable of the four attempts to produce comprehensive plans for the City's parks. The plans of the outside planning consultants, Todd and Mawson, and that of the local parks superintendent were not carried out. Neither Todd's site plan nor the overall concept for the municipal parks in conjunction with the Legislative Grounds were followed. Mawson's preliminary report on overall city development was filed. Mr. Ross' recommendations for Regina's parks were amended and he resigned before being able to carry out any plans. This fourth planning attempt was the most successful for three reasons: firstly, it was supported

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[102]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 4 March 1912.
[103]City of Regina, Minutes of the Special Committee of City Council, 28 April 1927.
[104]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 18 October 1927.
[105]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 20 September 1928.
[106]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 3 September 1929.

by City Council; secondly, land was available in sufficient quantity that the Parks Committee could choose from appropriately located, city-owned sites; and third, funds were available from the Dominion Park sale to be used for park development.

Playgrounds

The establishment and development of playgrounds in Regina was influenced by groups with both local and national affiliations. The parks issues, previously discussed in this thesis, were promoted by local groups and parks advocacy cannot be linked to a national group whose work was promoted by a core of vocal, influential individuals at the local level, who were organized within the framework of a national organizaton. In contrast, such a specific group can be identified with regard to playgrounds, as the National Council of Women and the respective local Councils of Women promoted supervised playgrounds. Other groups that were involved included the City Council, the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.), the Public School Board, the Sabbath School Association, the Town Planning Association, and local ward and ratepayers groups.

The issues of establishing, developing and providing playgrounds and offering supervised activities in these playgrounds were distinct but interrelated. Regina's decision makers provided the space for a playground in 1907, but they did not respond to requests for the supervision of playgrounds until 1912.

Broad Street Park was the first parcel designated for development and use as a playground. In 1907, Council took steps to designate the uses that would be permitted and promoted on a number of parcels of land. As part of this decision, Block 348, known locally as Broad Street Park or Alexandra Park, was to "be levelled up and set aside as an open playground for children." [107] The physical improvements authorized in 1907 were limited to levelling the ground. The principle of reserving the space for use by children was lauded, but the practical details of carrying it out were fraught with difficulty:

The idea was good, but it was practically impossible to carry it out. Larger boys and

[107]City of Regina, Minutes of Parks and Boulevards Committee, 13 March 1907; City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 20 March 1907.

> grown up men have had almost exclusive use of the park, and the smaller children have been crowded off what is rightly theirs. [108]

In 1910 and 1911, steps were taken to restrict the use of the park and to develop it to enhance its attractiveness and usefulness as a play area. Bylaw No. 547 (1910) regulated that the park was "dedicated as a play or recreation ground for the Children in the City of Regina," giving the children "the exclusive right to play at games therein," and legislating "that no adult person shall therein practice and play at games." An adult person was one over 14 years of age.

A year later, the Parks and Boulevards Committee approved a landscape design for Broad Street Park - the "very tastily arranged park" it was said "would not only greatly assist in beautifying of the city but would provide children with a well designed playground such as might be a credit in any city." The plan included space for trees, shrubs and walks, together with an active games area, an outdoor gymnasium, playgrounds and sand heaps. [109] The presentation of the plan was applauded by the *Regina Morning Leader*, but the newspaper did comment, rather tongue-in-cheek, about Mr. Ross's design: "Parks Commissioner Ross produced what looked like some new pattern for wallpaper, but later proved to be a scheme for turning the park into a plaything that would be of use to the children." [110]

With the approval of the development of Broad Street Park as a children's playground, the formative stage was complete - a site was developed for use. However, no consideration had been given to the supervision of play activities.

The National Council of Women had become involved in promoting vacation schools and supervised playgrounds in 1901 when the national body adopted a resolution not only supporting the Playground Movement, but also urging the local councils to approach their respective school boards "to allow the existing school grounds to be used for recreation, under proper supervision, during vacation months." [111] The Council of Women progressed quickly from just uttering the rhetoric of the Playground Movement to working at the local level in

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[108] *Regina Morning Leader*, 16 August 1911, p. 12.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.
[111] National Council of Women, Annual Report, 1901, p. 155.

some cities to promote and establish playgrounds.

In Regina, the Local Council of Women did not become involved in promoting playgrounds until 1909. While it recognized the importance of playgrounds, its work that year was at a preliminary stage. A presentation was made at the 1909 Annual Meeting by Miss Ross, a member who had been at the International Congress of Women in Toronto, in which she reported on the presentation about "Supervised Play" at that Congress and the importance of playgrounds for all children. The Local Council followed by appointing a Standing Committee on Education and Playgrounds. [112] However, the Standing Committee did not take any action, other than recognizing the importance of playgrounds, until 1912 when the Council was represented in the formation of the Regina Playgrounds Association and in acting to urge City Council "to get Alexandra Park fitted up as a Children's Playground." [113]

The Regina Playgrounds Association was organized early in 1912. Present at the first meeting to consider "the advisability of organizing a Play Ground Association" were representatives of the Public School Board, the Y.M.C.A., the Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee, the Local Council of Women, the Sabbath School Association, and the Provincial Government. [114]

Regina City Council was very receptive to the concept of an organization for playgrounds. It noted that the Councillors "were in full sympathy with the object of the Association" and that "the movement is an eminently desirable one which the Council should support." [115] It seriously considered the Association's request for a $2,000 grant to carry out its program, trying to save in other parts of its budget: it would "endeavor by economies in its estimates to provide, as far as possible, for this grant." [116]

As part of its organizing efforts, and possibly to secure favorable responses when requesting funds from City Council, the Playground Association included two appointed

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[112]Regina Council of Women, Minutes, 17 July 1909.
[113]Regina Council of Women, Minutes, 15 March 1912.
[114]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7005 29 February 1912.
[115]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7005 20 March 1912, f11008 1 April 1912.
[116]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f11008 1 April 1912.

members and one ex-officio member from City Council on its executive.[117] The Chairmen of the Markets Committee and the Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee were appointed by Council.[118] The Association's object was "the promotion of the physical, intellectual and moral development of the children of Regina by a system of supervised Play Grounds."[119]

While Council approved the $2,000 grant for the Playgrounds Association, there were difficulties in implementing this action because of the grant giving restrictions imposed by the provincial "City Act." The solution was simply to authorize the Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee to designate the $2,000 for playground purposes and to have "all expenditures and accounts come to the Committee for approval."[120]

The staff for the first summer of operation came from local institutions associated with youth. The physical instructor of the City schools and the physical instructor of the Y.M.C.A. were appointed, as were three other staff, all of whom apparently "had special training for the work that they are required to do in supervising and directing the play of the children on these supervised play-grounds."[121]

The Y.M.C.A. played a very supportive and active role in organizing and providing Regina's first playgrounds. The secretary of the Playground Association was the Physical Director of the Y.M.C.A.[122] The organization's physical instructor was one of the playground staff for the first summer's operation. In addition, the Association considered appointing two other staff who were "second year men from the Y.M.C.A. Training School" to supervise the bathing and games areas at Wascana Park.[123]

The most active members in the initial Playground Association seem to have been the Y.M.C.A. and the Public School Board, with vocal support from the Local Council of

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[117]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7005 21 March 1912.
[118]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7005 23 March 1912.
[119]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7005 "Constitution of the Regina Playgrounds Association 1912."
[120]City of Regina, Minutes of Parks, Boulevards and Cemeteries Committee, 9 July 1912.
[121]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7005 27 June 1912.
[122]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7005 21 March 1912.
[123]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f7005 27 June 1912.

Women and other associations. The School Board provided not only a staff person, but also the land on which to develop playgrounds. The play facilities had year-round use by the pupils of the school, not just summer use under the supervised play program. In the first summer, 1912, playgrounds were operated at one park and two schools; in the second year, at one park and four schools; and in the third year, at one park and seven schools. [124]

The efforts of the Playground Association, itself, seem to have been limited to a single year. In 1913, the School Board approached City Council to get funding for playground establishment and supervision at a number of school sites and recommended that "the grounds should be supervised by persons who have had some control of children and experience in their training" and recommended hiring teachers for this task. The report to Council referred to the Playground Association in the past tense, as the association organized to procure and install play apparatus, and seemed critical of its attempts at supervising children on the playgrounds. It appears that the Association was no longer active.

By 1914, the City Council was objecting to the use of city funds to equip and supervise what they viewed as a School Board responsibility, "as the equipment is used almost entirely by School children and is regarded after installation as part of the Assets of the Schools." Council decreed that, after 1914, the School Board should be responsible for playground installation and supervision on School sites and the City be responsible for the same in Parks. [125] That decision did not seem to stop the School Board from "claiming that the City should bear the cost" and trying again in 1915 to obtain City funds. [126]

Whatever the outcome of this financial dispute, the City's involvement in supervised playgrounds was not evident in the latter half of that decade, nor was the Playground Association's presence noted. In 1914, the Local Council of Women reported that the Town Planning Association and the School Board were now doing the playground work. [127] A request from the Regina Social Services Council for the appointment of a paid supervisor for

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[124] *Regina Morning Leader*, 23 August 1913;
City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 21 April 1914.
[125] City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 21 April 1914.
[126] City of Regina, Minutes of the City Commissioners, 24 June 1915.
[127] Regina Council of Women, Minutes, 11 March 1914.

playgrounds in 1917 was received by Council and filed with no action. [128] In 1919, a petition from the Council of Women in favor of three paid supervisors for playgrounds during the summer was tabled and struck from the agenda with no action. [129]

Even though the School Board and City Council may not have been able to work out a suitable arrangement regarding the establishment and supervision of playgrounds, they were able to co-operate in laying out and beautifying parts of some of the school grounds. Beautification of school grounds was considered to have both aesthetic and educational value:

> Considerable attention is attached to the culture of trees, shrubs and flowers as a factor in moulding the character of children. Every effort is made to educate school children against the destruction of plants, trees and shrubs which form the main attractions of these playgrounds. [130]

Toward this end, of educating school children, work was initiated in "laying out certain portions of the school grounds for Park purposes." In 1914, the Parks Superintendent's services were provided to the Public School Board on the condition that the Board pay a proportion of his salary, together with the cost of labor and materials for the projects. [131] This arrangement for beautification of school grounds was eventually expanded to include the Separate School Boards and the Collegiate Board as well as the Public School Board. [132] The Boards wanted "their grounds to be better taken care of both from an educational standpoint, and also in the general interest of the City." [133]

The second attempt to form a community-based organization promoting playgrounds began in 1920. The Playgrounds Commission was organized in the spring of 1920 and received $2,500 funding from City Council to equip and supervise six playgrounds. [134] In an astute political action, three aldermen were appointed to the Commission and the Mayor was the

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[128]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 3 July 1917, 17 July 1917.
[129]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 2 July 1919;
City of Regina, Minutes of the Special Committee of City Council, 4 July 1919, 11 July 1919, 22 August 1919.
[130]City of Regina, *Municipal Manual*, 1914, p. 52.
[131]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f702 28 April 1914.
[132]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 28 July 1928;
City of Regina, Minutes of the Special Committee of City Council, 9 August 1928, 16 May 1929.
[133]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 28 July 1928.
[134]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 7 June 1920, 16 June 1920;
Regina Council of Women, Minutes, 28 September 1920.

Chairman. Largely as a result, there seemed to be no grant problems this time. [135] Preliminary work was done by the School Board and the Local Council of Women together with what was described as the newly formed Parks Board [even though it may have been merely another attempt at forming a Parks Commission.] [136]

The Playgrounds Commission received an annual grant from the City from 1920 to 1929. [137] With this grant from the City and other donations (such as the funds raised by the Local Council of Women annually through Tag Days), the Commission operated supervised playgrounds throughout the city. The number of locations increased from six in 1920 to 11 in 1929 as the city's appropriation grew from $2,500 to $5,500. [138]

The programs offered at the playgrounds grew more diverse. The amount of playground equipment on each site was increased and the activities were expanded. By 1924, there were baseball leagues for both boys and girls and a basketball league for the girls, as well as a program of games, stories, crafts, weiner roasts and outings with field meets held at the summer's end. An annual donation from the Regina Council of Women was a silver cup to the playground accumulating the most points in competitions over the summer. The Council also provided medals for "deportment," good conduct and sportsmanship, which were given to one boy and one girl from each playground. [139]

In 1929, an attempt was made by a local group, the North Side Ratepayers Association, to change the structure and management of the Playgrounds Commission. The Ratepayers Association alleged that the "management of the Commission is not such as to set the highest example to the children" and recommended that "the Civic Playgrounds of Regina should be placed under the control of a responsible civic department." [140] The matter was

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[135]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 29 June 1920.
[136]Regina Council of Women, Minutes, 23 March 1920.
[137]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 29 June 1920, 18 Jan 1921, 31 March 1922, 17 April 1923, 15 April 1924, 5 May 1925, 20 April 1926, 19 April 1927, 6 March 1928;
City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 16 January 1930.
[138]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 16 January 1930.
[139]Regina Council of Women, Minutes, 22 May 1928, 21 May 1929, 22 October 1929.
[140]City of Regina, Minutes of the Special Committee of City Council, 31 October

referred to the Parks Superintendent, who did not see fit to recommend either that the Commission should be abolished, or that the Parks Department should take over its responsibilities. [141] Council then decided that the Association's complaints were "frivolous and unwarranted and in some of the statements quite unfounded." [142]

In 1930, soon after the resolution of the North Side Ratepayers Association allegations, City Council itself attempted to change the structure of the Commission, by reducing it in size to seven members, two of whom would be members of City Council. [143] Immediate objections arose from the Playgrounds Commission, which viewed the proposal as a vote of nonconfidence, and from the Local Council of Women which was offended as the Local Council "was one of the first movers in the matter [of playgrounds]" and which may have feared that it would not be part of a reorganized Commission. [144] City Council backed down from this confrontation quickly and decided that it would not change the Playgrounds Commission Bylaw. [145] The Playgrounds Commission continued in operation through 1933 when the Regina Parks Board was established and the Commission was taken over by the new Board. [146]

Comprehensive Planning

The rhetoric promoting comprehensive urban planning was very frequently linked with the same beliefs that promoted parks and playgrounds. For example, in an editorial in the *Regina Morning Leader*, entitled "The Wisdom of Town Planning," Regina's citizens were urged to support provincial legislation and a town planning scheme because "patriotic action now will give to the future generations a legacy of health, beauty and happiness which will

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[140](cont'd) City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 19 November 1929; City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 7 January 1930.
[141]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 16 January 1930.
[142]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 22 January 1930.
[143]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 16 January 1930.
[144]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 18 January 1930.
[145]City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 4 February 1930; City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f705 5 February 1930.
[146]E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1970), p. 33.

call forth blessings upon us." [147] Very soon thereafter the City decided to "secure the services of a landscape architect of international reputation to draft a complete plan." [148]

From the establishment of the Town of Regina there were many editorials in the *Regina Morning Leader* promoting town planning, as well as several expert planners from outside Regina who lectured about and promoted planning on their visits to the city. The first community association for this cause, the Regina City Planning Association, was formed in March 1913. Its purpose was:

> To promote all things which make for the development and improvement of the city and shall include:
> (a) Promotion of city planning and garden suburbs.
> (b) Housing and improvement of sanitation.
> (c) The collection and dissemination of information as to the above.
> (d) The education and creation of public opinion in these matters.
> (e) The influencing and promotion of legislation. [149]

The Association appointed the Mayor as Honorary Vice President. [150]

As part of its educational campaign the Association embarked upon practical projects which both promoted its cause and enhanced the city. The first project, instigated by the Mayor, funded by the City and carried out by the Association, was a city wide cleanup campaign. [151] The second project, Vacant Lot Gardening, involved co-ordinating those who had vacant lots to offer and those who wanted to use them, subdividing and cultivating the lots, supplying flower seeds and arranging for discounts on tools, seeds and plants. [152] The Association's activities appear to have ceased after 1914, with Moser describing them as being "dormant during World War I." [153]

Between 1913 and 1918 City staff members did some work on planning matters while they awaited the Mawson plan. They noted the need for planning legislation, and discussed

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[147] *Regina Morning Leader*, 20 January 1913.
[148] *Regina Morning Leader*, 4 February 1913.
[149] *Regina Morning Leader*, 15 March 1913.
[150] City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f6007 1 April 1913.
[151] *Regina Morning Leader*, 15 March 1913;
City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f6007 9 April 1913;
City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 10 April 1913.
[152] *Regina Morning Leader*, 19, 20 & 21 May 1913.
[153] Moser, p. 82.

this with the staff of other cities and with members of the provincial government.[154] However, when the provincial *Town Planning Act* was announced in 1917, the reception was not cordial. The Act was denounced by City Council as being "radical," "hastily prepared" and "inimical to the Cities' interests." [155] Thus, although Regina's decision makers had been in favor of provincial legislation, they then ignored it.

The second community planning group, the Town Planning Association of Regina, was formed in November 1922. The *Regina Morning Leader* reported that the meeting for preliminary discussions about the Association had been "held at the instigation of the Board of Trade." [156] Apparently, the Board had been discussing and promoting town planning for two years before this Association was formed. [157] The Board's suggestion as to the duties of a City Planning Board included rhetoric with both urban reform and civic boosterism content. The duties of the Planning Board would be:

> to study the question of city planning and to familiarize themselves with the great results in economy, convenience and beauty, which have been attained in many cities by wise city planning. Such a commission should aim to guard the amenities, that is the human values and the beauty, and to make the growth of the city enrich the life of the citizens. [158]

The justification for engaging in planning noted both that the *Planning Act* required the adoption of development bylaws and a development scheme, and that Saskatoon had already acted. Presumably the latter comment was intended to goad Regina's decision makers into action. In fact, Saskatoon had merely applied for the authority to prepare a development scheme. Delegates at this meeting and the founding meeting, who later joined as affiliated members, included representatives of the Board of Trade, the Local Council of Women and a number of other service and community organizations. [159] One of the organizers of this

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[154]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f6007 25 November 1913;
City of Regina, Minutes of Parks and Public Property Committee, 28 April 1914, 20 May 1914;
City of Regina, Minutes of the City Commissioners, 5 April 1915.
[155]City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f709 5 December 1917, 6 December 1917.
[156]*Regina Morning Leader*, 24 November 1922.
[157]Regina Board of Trade, Minutes, 3 March 1921, 21 March 1921, Annual Report 1921.
[158]Regina Board of Trade, Minutes, 3 March 1921.
[159]*Regina Morning Leader*, 19 April 1923.

Association, Colonel Garner, had been involved in town planning issues from the organization of the earlier City Planning Association in 1913.

The Association was formed as an advisory group which existed to co-operate with City Council. [160] In this role, it created what was described as a draft zoning bylaw, and recommended that an official Town Planning Board be created. [161] This was achieved in 1924, with five members of the Association nominated to the Board. [162]

Three years later the Board brought in its report with a zoning bylaw, but without a town plan. [163] This latter effort was authorized in May 1930 when the City Council appointed a Town Planning Commission. [164]

Summary and Analysis

By 1930 the product, the recreational services that were in place in Regina, included 23 parcels of park land with 18 more identified for acquisition, plus 11 supervised playgrounds. There was no parks board or commission in place, but a Playgrounds Commission had operated since 1920. Work had begun on a town planning scheme under the mandate of the Town Planning Commission.

The process which had led to this situation began in 1883. The activities and events of the next 47 years of policy development, to 1930, can be understood through the use of the explanations of public policy-making noted in the Framework. The four elements of the interpretive framework which should explain what happened in Regina, as in each of the other cities in the study, are ideology, environment, distribution of power and rational decision making.

The prevailing ideas associated with urban reform and civic boosterism provide part of the explanation for the development of parks and playgrounds in Regina. There was much

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[160] *Regina Morning Leader*, 1 December 1922.
[161] City of Regina, Minutes of City Council, 18 March 1924, 17 June 1924; City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f:Town Planning Board 1 June 1927.
[162] City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f:Town Planning Board 14 June 1924.
[163] City of Regina, City Clerk's Records, f:Town Planning Board 1 June 1927.
[164] "Town Planning Commission for Regina," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, 9 (June 1930): 63.

rhetoric promoting causes which could lead to expectations that there would be change. However, ideology explains more about the process of acquiring park sites and developing playgrounds in Regina, than about the product that was evident in 1930. The process included nine attempts to form parks organizations, as well as success in forming two playground organizations and four town planning organizations.

Between 1904 and 1929 at least nine attempts were made to create a board or commission of appointed officials whose primary responsibility would be to plan and manage the city's parks and through them to enhance the whole city. All nine attempts were unsuccessful, as City Council was either unable or unwilling to devolve any of its powers, preferring to carry out the work of reserving and developing the park sites itself.

In contrast to the numerous unsuccessful attempts to form an organization to manage parks, there were two organizations formed to operate playgrounds. The Regina Playgrounds Association was formed in 1912, five years after City Council had designated one park to be set aside as a playground for children, but had made no provision for any supervision. When the Regina Playgrounds Association was formed its most active members were the Y.M.C.A. and the Public School Board, with vocal support from the Local Council of Women and other associations, plus financial support from City Council. This arrangement operated from 1912 until 1914. Another organization, the Playgrounds Commission, began in 1920 and received annual appropriations from City Council, and considerable assistance from the Council of Women's fundraising projects. This Commission expanded its sites, equipment and program as it continued to operate until 1933.

Four separate park planning exercises were undertaken. For two of these, outside planners were hired and on two occasions schemes were produced locally. The experts from elsewhere brought with them ideas gleaned from contemporary situations in other North American and European cities. Montreal landscape architect, Frederick Todd's 1907 plans for Victoria Park and for the Legislative Grounds were partially implemented. The first local scheme, headed by Parks Superintendent Ross, was passed over in favour of hiring an international landscape architect to prepare a comprehensive plan for the city. Thus, Thomas

Mawson was commissioned in 1913, but his plan, which contained a section on "The Park System," was not received until ten years later, in 1923. The plan was then filed. The most attainable of the four planning efforts occurred between 1927 and 1929, when the City had at its disposal two ingredients essential to effective plan implementation - an accessible land base from which to select appropriate sites for parks, and money with which to acquire any of the selected sites.

Aside from the relatively expensive and grand sounding "Preliminary Report on the Development of the City" by Mawson in 1923, comprehensive planning efforts were carried on by City staff members and by the Regina Planning Association (1913-14), the Town Planning Association of Regina (1922-24), followed by the Town Planning Board (1924-30) and the Town Planning Commission (post 1930). The primary occupation of the planning groups until 1924 was to discuss and promote town planning. With the formation of the Town Planning Board, work began on a zoning scheme which was adopted in 1927. Work on a town planning scheme was not authorized until 1930.

As noted, the process of developing parks and playgrounds was affected more by prevailing ideas, transmitted by journals, lecturers and newspapers than was the final product evident in 1930. While Council did establish several park sites, there was little evidence to suggest that ideology had an impact on such designation. A link can be made between ideas and the operation of playgrounds through the efforts of the Local Council of Women as it carried out a program promoted by the National Council of Women. Planning organizations were established and plans were prepared on several occasions, frequently spurred on by the visits of expert planners and the support of the Board of Trade. Even though a zoning scheme had been adopted in 1927, no town plan for Regina was accepted by 1930. Thus, although examples of the ideology of urban reform and civic boosterism were very prevalent in Regina in the time period of the study, this does not provide an adequate explanation of the development of parks and playgrounds.

The social, economic, political and physical environment, in both changing and stable aspects, provided the strongest explanations for the development of parks and playgrounds in

Regina. While prevalent ideology, including the rhetoric of the urban reformers and the civic boosters could lead to expectations of improvement, it was change or desire for change in components of the environment which were more likely to explain the development of parks and playgrounds. However, there are links with the ideology explanation, as the rhetoric often described or responded to conditions in the environment, for example, the calls to plant trees on the treeless plain in Regina.

Components of the social environment, such as the impact of urbanization, included population increase and the resultant demand for services. The population increase led to two conditions which were both considered reasons for the development of parks and playgrounds. The central part of Regina was considered relatively crowded and lacking in services; thus, Victoria Park and Broad Street Park were developed. However, there was also an expressed need to develop parks and playgrounds to serve outlying areas. Several playgrounds were established and operated to serve this purpose. As well, a Northern Park was established to serve the newly developing area of the city, and part of the rationale for selling a portion of the Dominion Park was to acquire land in other parts of the city to serve those residents. This was carried out through the Special Committee's plan of 1929.

The political environment provided explanations for both the non-establishment of parks organizations and the development of parks. The nine attempts to establish a parks organization were frequently thwarted by City Councils' reluctance to give up any powers to an appointed body. This reluctance was combined with the lack of legislative power to do so, or perhaps an unwillingness to seek amendments to such legislation. The political designation of the City of Regina as the capital of the province provided the basis for the development of some park land, particularly Wascana Park which was adjacent to the Legislative Grounds. The political designation created a climate in which the perceived need for civic enhancement, when tied to the civic boosters' efforts, was heeded and provided the rationale for this development.

The most substantial environmental influence was that of the economy at both the world and local scale. The frenzy of subdivision and land development of the early 1910's was

halted in 1913-14, with the result that many parcels of land which had been intended for development were not developed, proposals were abandoned, taxes were not paid, and eventually ownership of the land passed to the City. Thus, the City was provided with a land base from which to choose land for park establishment and development. Money was available from the sale of Dominion Park and thus, 18 sites were identified for acquisition.

The physical environment, including the presence or absence of amenities, had an impact on the development of parks and playgrounds in Regina. The creation of Wascana Lake, albeit originally for the functional purpose of providing a reservoir of water for steam train engines, became an attribute worthy of development for park purposes. The lack of tree cover in Regina led a newspaper editor to conduct a lengthy campaign to plant trees and enhance the town (and later the city). Park developments such as Victoria Park and Wascana Park became part of the efforts to improve the appearance of Regina (to redress nature's oversight). While all the cities in the study were subject to the above noted social and economic influences, and to some degree to similar political influences, only in Regina was the need to enhance the physical environment perceived to be so acute.

According to the explanation focusing on the distribution of power, the groups affecting decisions about parks and playgrounds should either represent economic power or represent access to such power. In Regina, the two groups involved in parks and playgrounds which fit this description were the Board of Trade and the Local Council of Women. These two groups were among the most influential in promoting the development of parks and playgrounds. While not always successful, their efforts, coupled with those of the vocal *Regina Leader*, were prominent in several major issues. Both organizations' members (and their spouses) were part of economically advantaged groups in the city and their rhetoric and support were in keeping with that noted in other Canadian cities.

The Board of Trade, working through both its general membership and its Civic Improvement, and Research and Civic Service Committees, supported the 1911 effort to establish a Parks Commission, and the 1920 establishment of supervised playgrounds. As well, it promoted the need to prepare a plan for parks and playgrounds in 1927. At the Board of

Trade Forum in 1921 there was support for the appointment of a City Planning Board and for several park and recreation improvements. The Board followed this verbal support with work to establish the Town Planning Association. The Board's Civic Improvement Committee dealt with both recreation opportunities and city planning. The 1929 Research and Civic Service Committee addressed a number of issue areas including parks, streets and recreation - putting forward a recommendation that there be a Joint City and Province Improvement Committee for the Regina area. This recommendation was forwarded to City Council, but it was left over for the 1930 Council to deal with.

The Regina Council of Women was involved in supporting supervised playgrounds and town planning organizations. While the Council's 1945 history states that "supervised playgrounds were for many years the entire responsibility of the Local Council of Women until the Playgrounds Commission and the Parks Department of the City took them over," the available evidence suggests that the Council of Women played a supporting role rather than being entirely responsible. [165] The Council's interest in supervised playgrounds started in 1909, and was enhanced with representation on the Playgrounds Association in 1912 and on the Playgrounds Commission from 1920. The Council supplied considerable funds and awards to the Commission, but the Y.M.C.A. and the School Board played more substantial roles in actually establishing and staffing the playgrounds. The Council of Women was represented at the formation of the Town Planning Association in 1922.

Of these two active organizations, the Board of Trade was the most effective in getting its recommendations to City Council, leading to at least some discussion in that forum, if not always resulting in action. In summary, these two groups had substantial impact upon Regina's parks and playgrounds.

The final aspect of the framework which can provide an explanation about park and playground development in Regina is rational decision making. The way in which decisions about parks and playgrounds were made should have been a rational one, using logic and reason, emphasizing businesslike, efficient efforts using the expertise available. There is a

[165]Regina Council of Women, *Local Council of Women of Regina*, (Regina, 1945), p. 31.

strong link between this potential explanation and the techniques favoured by the urban reformers. The numerous calls for businesslike, efficient park operations were not successful. However, when funds were eventually available to acquire land in 1929, parks were designated in a more efficient fashion, distributed in each of the four quarters of the city. The planning rhetoric which called for rational decision making, using as its rationale, that planning would alleviate future problems (1913) and would enhance economy, convenience and beauty (1922), met with little success. Although the rhetoric regarding the planning of parks and playgrounds supplies exhortations for rational decision making, the actions of the decision makers supply few examples of the use of such a process.

In summary, of the framework's four explanations, ideology, environment, distribution of power and rational decision making, the strongest explanations of the process come from ideology and distribution of power; but the strongest explanation of the product comes from environmental influences - social, economic, political, and physical environments.

B. SASKATOON

The Village and the Town

When the Temperance Colonization Society from Ontario (T.C.S.) selected a location for its townsite in 1882, it picked a site on the south side of the South Saskatchewan River with both aesthetic and functional attributes. The site had both a commanding view of the river and a place with a low bank to make the river crossing a relatively easy undertaking. John Lake and his expeditionary party decided upon the location and the name after camping at the site in August, 1882. [1] Eleven months later, in July 1883 the plan of the townsite was completed by Lake and surveyed by F.L. Blake. [2] This plan for the "City of Saskatoon" included provision for a park along the south bank of the river, known as "Riverdale Park," and a parcel of 14 acres adjacent to the river bank, known as "Louise Grounds." In addition, there were two other parcels, "Tilley Square" and "The Triangle" which were not subdivided for sale, even though they were not designated for parks.

Seven years later, with the coming of the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway to the north side of the river, F.L. Blake prepared a survey plan of the land on that side of the South Saskatchewan River (a separate site). This plan did not contain any reservations for parks either along the river or back from it, although one parcel was not subdivided and might have been intended for a park. [3] Figure 2, which follows, shows the current city and some elements of the park system which has developed.

Initially, population growth was extremely slow in the townsites on both sides of the river. Territorial legislation required that there be 15 houses in order for either of these clusters of houses to be declared a village. This objective was achieved by those on the north side of the river in 1901, apparently by counting all the shacks as houses, and it was named

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[1] L.H. Thomas, "Saskatoon, 1883-1920: The Formative Years," in *Town and City - Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*, ed. A.F.F. Artibise (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1981), p. 241.
[2] University of Saskatoon Archives, MSS C555/2/1 - A.S. Morton Manuscript Collection.
[3] D. Kerr and S. Hanson, *Saskatoon: The First Half Century* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982), p. 35.

Figure 2
Saskatoon

Saskatoon by the Post Office authorities. The community on the south side of the river was then renamed Nutana, but it did not reach village status until 1903. [4] In 1903, Saskatoon's population was 113 - one-twentieth the size of Regina. [5] The descriptions of this village were less than complimentary as seen in this comment ten years later in a Board of Trade publication:

> a sprinkling of rude shacks dotted upon a raw prairie and housing merely 113 sanguine souls. One wretched railway over which a most miserable mixed passenger and freight train came and went upon no schedule, but merely as convenience dictated. [6]

The achievement of village status had taken 16 years for the north side village and 18 years for one on the south side of the river. This slow growth rate was not continued, as the residents of Saskatoon actively pursued town status. Attaining town status would enable the municipality to borrow funds at a higher level than would village status (10 percent of the municipal assessment rather than 5 percent). This would permit the town to construct capital improvements which, in turn, would be useful in attempting to boost the town's image elsewhere, showing it as a growing and progressive community. Town status, including the settlements on both sides of the river, was achieved on July 1, 1903 - after a year of "remarkable growth." [7] The Census to establish that the village had the requisite 450 residents was enhanced when the Census Taker counted "a number of people registered at hotels who had not fully decided to become residents of Saskatoon but if things turned out as expected they would." [8] Presumably, if Saskatoon was a town these visitors might be urged to stay and contribute.

One of the first acts of the new Town Council was to discuss "the procuring of grounds suitable for a town park." [9] Fifty acres to be used for a recreation ground, originally called Town Park and later City Park, were purchased by the Town from the Temperance

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[4]Thomas, p. 248.
[5]Kerr and Hanson, pp. 34-36.
[6]cited in Kerr and Hanson, p. 36.
[7]*Saskatoon Phenix*, 26 June 1903, p. 5.
[8]Thomas, p. 252 citing Saskatoon Historical Society, *Narratives of Saskatoon, 1882-1912* (Saskatoon: University Bookstore, 1927).
[9]*Saskatoon Phenix*, 21 August 1903, p. 1.

Colonization Society for $1,500. The parcel was described as being "very suitable for a recreation ground and was as well a very pretty spot if properly looked after." [10] The park was outside the town limits, 1/2 mile from the town center, but its physical attributes outweighed its slightly distant location. [11]

Having acquired the land, the Town Council seemed to be in no hurry to improve the park. By June, 1904 the local press, bemoaning the lack of action and suggesting that the park resembled a cow pasture, urged Council to action, appealing to the members' vanity and to their desire to be remembered:

> They have the park site that they have already acquired, what are they waiting for? Do they think the town herd will run short of pasture? The council should be alive to the benefits that . . . parks would prove to the town. Besides future generations would be glad of a suitable place, where they could erect a monument surrounded with sweet smelling flowers to the mayor and corporate body of Saskatoon, who had done so much for their happiness and comfort. [12]

Still, council's actions were rather slow and limited. The Agricultural Society was granted use of the park in 1905, and for the next three years it was the location of the Society's buildings and events; [13] although the inclusion of the agricultural society in the park may not have been in keeping with the original intent of the park: "if we were going to have a recreation ground, we should have a park - and a good one - where women and children could go without fear of horses, etc." [14] In early 1907 , the Council and the Agricultural Society began to consider a scheme for a new site for the agricultural activities. [15] Finally, over a year later, the city decided to acquire 80 acres for the fair grounds leaving City Park to be used wholly for recreation purposes. [16]

This park was not the only site to be considered for improvement. The Railway company apparently was willing to donate some of its land for a park and the *Phenix* newspaper promoted the idea:

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[10]*Saskatoon Phenix*, 28 August 1903.
[11]*Saskatoon Phenix*, 28 August 1903, 4 September 1903, 9 October 1903.
[12]*Saskatoon Phenix*, 17 June 1904.
[13]*Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 10 December 1908.
[14]*Saskatoon Phenix*, 28 August 1903, p. 1.
[15]*Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 4 March 1907.
[16]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f4 1 April 1908;
Saskatoon Daily Phoenix, 10 December 1908.

> The *Phenix* wishes to advocate a beauty spot for Saskatoon . . . A beautiful park and flower garden can be laid out on the gore between 1st Avenue and the Railway tracks and extending from Spadina Crescent to 21st Street . . . Such a garden would be of course an advertisement for the town and district, but it would also be a source of pleasure for our citizens and their families. [17]

Three months later, after no action had been taken by Council, the *Phenix* continued its advocacy, adding the theme of competition with other centers to its arguments about advertising and the citizen's pleasure:

> We hope that the council may yet see the advisability of not only creating a beauty spot in the centre of the town for the enjoyment of the citizens but of affording a living advertisement for the town and district which would meet the eye of the many travellers who daily pass through Saskatoon. One has only to visit the stations at Moose Jaw or Regina to see the benefit of such advertising. The gardens there are a constant attraction to the travelling public to create a most favorable impression of the fertility of their respective districts. [18]

Even this exhortation did not spark council to action. Four months later, the *Phenix* was again critical of the lack of progress and added yet another competitive comment: "Moose Jaw, Regina and other towns have beautiful parks and gardens in connection with their railway depots. Saskatoon has been offered the same." [19] Still nothing was done and six years later, the Board of Trade took up the issue, when at its meeting:

> it was mentioned that the C.N.R. were quite willing to re-open the matter of laying out a garden on the vacant land between the Board of Trade office and their passenger depot. [20]

This time the Mayor was in favor of the idea. The Board of Trade acted as a catalyst for the idea and as a go-between with the Mayor and the C.N.R. It could be noted that one possible impact of this site improvement would be the enhancement of the Board's office site.

The Board of Trade was not new to the notion of railway station gardens and improvements. In 1909 the commissioner of the Board had promoted a garden competition amongst the various stations in both the C.P.R. and the C.N.R.:

> suggesting a garden competition for the station hands along their lines throughout this district, and pointing to the fact in addition to the element of brightness and beauty, there was this material fact that a station with a flower garden was invariably

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[17] *Saskatoon Phenix*, 23 December 1904.
[18] *Saskatoon Phenix*, 31 March 1905, p. 4.
[19] *Saskatoon Phenix*, 4 August 1905.
[20] Saskatoon Board of Trade, Minutes, 21 February 1911.

a tidy station.[21]

While Saskatoon was still a town there was some prodding by various citizens to create a permanent body which would manage the existing and future parks. The promoters wanted a Commission which would carry this out with funds provided by Council and supply more continuity from year to year than was perceived to be supplied by the supposedly uncoordinated one-year efforts of elected councillors. J.H.C. Willoughby made his proposal public in a letter to the editor of the *Phenix*:

> I advocate the appointment of Parks Commissioners by our council. I am satisfied that three men can be found who will take sufficient interest in the beautifying of the town to be willing to give their services free as is done by the members of the council and school board . . .[22]

Three weeks later a Mr. Kerr replied to Willoughby's proposal, but suggested a committee of elected councillors appointed for two year terms rather than a Commission made up of appointed citizens. While Kerr's arguments were similar to Willoughby's, in terms of both wanting to beautify the town (particularly the existing park and the cemetery) and to provide a body with some continuity, Kerr preferred that an experienced staff person be hired and that Council retain accountability, because Council would be directly responsible to the electorate.[23] Neither proposal was implemented in 1905. Park-related matters were handled by the annually-appointed Parks and Cemeteries Committee of Council, until 1908.

The Town of Saskatoon made its second major purchase for park and other purposes in 1905 when Council purchased 94 acres, southwest of town, from the Temperance Colonization Society.[24] The parcel consisted of sand hills and poplar bluffs adjacent to the river. Its location, away from the center of town, and its sandy terrain do not immediately conjure up the image of a park suited to the needs of a rapidly developing community. However, its potential as a railway crossing was also a factor in the purchase, as the *Phenix* noted:

It is understood that the possibility for using the flats for railway purposes was a

[21]Saskatoon Board of Trade, Minutes, 14 December 1909.
[22]*Saskatoon Phenix*, 30 December 1904, p. 1.
[23]*Saskatoon Phenix*, 20 January 1905.
[24]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f1 15 March 1905; *Saskatoon Phenix*, 24 March 1905 & 31 March 1905.

> factor in suggesting the purchase, as the Grand Trunk Pacific has located a line crossing the river near here. Whether such use can be made of this land by way of helping a decision on the part of the railway, of great advantage to the town, or whether of advantage as a park, the purchase shows a wise and sanguine outlook for the future, when the teeming thousands may enjoy the benefits of a splendid park. [25]

The park, known at various times as Sand Hills, South Park, and Wellington Park, is now Holiday Park.

By the time Saskatoon became a City on July 1, 1906 it possessed two major parks, one of 50 acres and one of 94 acres. Other purchases were also being considered. In particular, offers were being made to the town council by the owners of two pieces of land, both on the Nutana side of the river. The Temperance Colonization Society was offering a 40 acre parcel to the Town for $800 per acre. The other parcel was owned by the estate of a Mr. Butler, which was represented by Dr. J.H.C. Willoughby. The 46 acre Butler property was available for $36,000. [26]

The T.C.S. land was part of the river bank owned by the Society - part of the land labelled as "Riverdale Park" on Lake and Blake's 1883 survey and plan. Council viewed the $800 per acre price for 40 acres as being rather high in view of the town's other financial commitments. On the other hand, the Temperance Colony's trustees believed that Council did not appreciate "the value of this strip as a park and a beauty spot." [27] While the Town did not immediately acquire the land, it did get 30 acres of it later, as part of the settlement of a dispute about the use of the Louise Grounds. [28]

Most of the debate surrounded the other parcel of land, the Butler land, with which Dr. Willoughby was associated. The initial reaction of the Parks and Cemeteries Committee and Council was negative. They felt that the proposal could not be supported, not because they did not want a park, but rather because other, higher priority expenditures were necessary. These expenditures included:

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[25] *Saskatoon Phenix*, 24 March 1905.
[26] *Saskatoon Phoenix*, 23 May 1906.
[27] Ibid.
[28] City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 11 May 1906. While the body was called the Parks Board and not created until 1908, the files are labelled "Parks Commission" and begin in 1906.

> lighting of the streets, street improvements, sewage, sewage beds, waterworks, installation of hydrants. All of which [are] inevitable expenditures, we therefore recommend carefulness. [29]

Other arguments against the purchase were that the City already had other land which it could develop or that the funds could be used to improve all the existing streets by tree planting.

The 1906 operating philosophy of the Committee and Council seemed to be "business before pleasure." However, some residents, including members of the Board of Trade and a few councillors, did not subscribe to the same philosophy. They wanted to purchase the land immediately, although not at the asking price, to prevent its increasing in price and costing the city more should they want to purchase later. [30] A petition, begun by the Board of Trade and presented to Council, extolled the attributes of the site and recommended acquiring it on utilitarian and economic grounds.

> The petition stated that the property was the only suitable ground for park purposes within reach of the city; that a park is needed for picnics and assemblies as there is no public place in the city suitable for such a purpose, the increasing value of the land recommended the buying as a business proposition and beside all is the necessity for acquiring park property. [31]

Council's solution was to refer the matter to the Parks and Cemeteries Committee where apparently nothing was done. Five years later, in 1911, Dr. Willoughby donated this parcel referred to as "Idyl Wild Park." [32]

Thus, the two properties that were being considered when Saskatoon achieved city status both became part of the park system, but not as direct, deliberate purchases by the Council of the day.

Park Management

Although brief mention was made of the notion of establishing a Parks Commission in 1904 and 1905, serious proposals did not emerge until 1907.

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[29]City of Saskatoon, Parks and Cemeteries Committee, 11 May 1906; and *Saskatoon Phoenix*, 23 May 1906.
[30]*Saskatoon Phoenix*, 29 August 1906.
[31]*Saskatoon Phoenix*, 12 September 1906.
[32]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 17 January 1912.

Dr. J.H.C. Willoughby, who first proposed a Parks Commission in 1904 and represented the land owner in the attempt to sell the City the "Butler land" noted earlier, ran in the municipal election of 1907. Part of his platform was "a program of street and park improvement under the direction of an especially appointed board." [33] Willoughby was elected and at the first Council meeting of 1908 brought forward a bylaw "providing for the appointment of three permanent park comissioners to take charge of tree planting and laying out of parks and boulevards around the city." In keeping with his expressed opinions of 1904 he thought that they "should be permanent so that their work would go along steadily and following some scheme." [34] Council concurred, passed the bylaw and appointed the first three Park Commissoners whose duties were:

> to manage and report on all matters pertaining to the planting and protecting of trees, and flowers on the boulevards, and streets of the City, and also manage and report to the Council on all matters connected therewith in the Cemeteries and Public Parks and Grounds. [35]

The Parks Board was to "manage and report," while Council retained decision making authority, including an annual grant of funds, but passed along responsibility for the work.

The Parks Board's mandate changed several times over the next 22 years. The original bylaw (#151) in 1908 authorized the three Commissoners to "manage and report." Bylaw 362 in 1911 and *The Public Parks Act* of 1912 vested in the Public Parks Board "the general management, regulation and control of parks and boulevards" and changed the composition of the Board to five members, made up of the Mayor, two councillors and two city residents.

The 1915 bylaw (#940) changed both the Board's membership and its direct involvement with the parks. The membership increased to seven, the Mayor, three councillors and three electors of Saskatoon. The Board's duties changed to reflect decisions made by Council in 1914 when the work of the Parks Board was brought under the supervision of the City Commissioners. [36] The change in involvement was apparently made at the request of the Parks Board and was attributed to the work load of the Board: "the members of the Parks

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[33] *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 6 December 1907, p. 1.
[34] *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 7 January 1908, p. 2.
[35] Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Bylaw #151, 29 January 1908; *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 16 January 1908 & 30 January 1908.
[36] City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f281 23 June 1914.

Board are busy men and have not the time to devote to active supervision of the work." [37] Work duties were passed to the professional paid staff. The Board's new duties were to "advise and confer with the City Commissioners," with the parks, boulevards and cemeteries being "under the general supervision and care of City Commissioners." [38]

The powers of the Parks Board changed very little between 1915 and 1930, even though its size increased to ten members - the mayor and nine others from council and the electors (no direction was given as to how many members would come from each group). [39] In 1920, when bylaw #940 was still in effect, the stated powers of the Parks Board were "to advise and confer." The City Clerk's correspondence with the Clerk of North Battleford indicates, however, that practice may have been different than official policy:

> I may say in actual practice the system is somewhat different to that provided by the bylaw. The Parks Board in some cases assumes somewhat greater powers than that of an advisory board to the City Commissioners. [40]

In Bylaw #2026 of 1930 the Board returned to its former supervisory role with greater powers wherein "all the parks, streets, boulevards and cemeteries in the City of Saskatoon, shall be controlled, supervised and managed by a board to be known as 'The Parks Board'." [41]

The Saskatoon Public Parks Act of 1912 was created at the request of City Council. [42] The rationale behind seeking provincial legislation was explained in a *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix* article extolling the Parks System.

> The Commissioners hope to have provincial legislation passed giving the board more authority than it has at present in the way of raising funds and expending the same. At present, the board has no fixed sum at its disposal, just getting appropriations from the city from time to time. The better way, which prevails in most of the cities is to have the park board incorporated so that it can issue bonds. Such an act is now in force in Manitoba. This would give the board a responsibility and control not now possessed. [43]

The expected autonomy does not seem to have been reflected in the legislation, which still

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[37] *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 27 June 1914.
[38] Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Bylaw #940.
[39] Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Bylaw #1684.
[40] City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Board 9 August 1920.
[41] City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f282 27 January 1930, 17 March 1930.
[42] City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 2 January 1912.
[43] Saskatoon Public Library, Local History Room, f:Parks 1912 - Phoenix Harvest Edition 1912.

required Council to levy and assess the annual funding.

City Council's request had directed that the Act "should be along the lines of the Public Parks Act of the Province of Manitoba." This resulted in *An Act to Provide for the Establishment and Maintenance of Public Parks in the City of Saskatoon* which gave Council, together with the Parks Board, the authority to manage, regulate and control the parks, to acquire land in the municipality and within six miles of it, to expropriate land, to construct improvements and to establish rules for acceptable activities in the parks. The Board made its annual estimates for expenses and submitted those estimates to Council, which in turn would provide funds. [44] Thus, while the Act enabled the Board to be autonomous in managing, regulating and controlling the parks, it could do so only within the constraints provided by the funds furnished annually by City Council to the maximum of a one-half mill rate. While the Act was modelled on the *Manitoba Public Parks Act*, it was not province-wide legislation which Saskatoon had chosen to adopt, but rather was specific to Saskatoon.

The activities of the Parks Board were not aimed solely at park acquisition and development. Civic beautification was also dealt with by the Board - often at the urging of the Saskatoon Board of Trade. A review of the correspondence of both organizations leaves the impression that the Board of Trade organization acted as a catalyst, with ideas and proposals about civic beautification that it either carried out alone or with the resources of the Parks Board.

The Board of Trade used two tools, public information lectures and competitions, as part of its continuing campaign to beautify the city. After sponsoring "Forestry Lectures" in 1909, the Board reported sparking public interest in tree planting and home gardens: "since the recent Forestry lectures here under the auspices of our Board, the consideration of beautifying our city had evidently found favour in the public mind and became a live topic."[45] The Board promoted a home garden competition in 1905 and a competition for railway gardens in 1909. [46] In 1911, it sponsored another Forestry Lecture, then contacted the

[44]*Statutes of Saskatchewan* ch. 51, 1912.
[45]Saskatoon Board of Trade, Minutes, 30 March 1909.
[46]Saskatoon Board of Trade, Minutes, 30 March 1909, 14 December 1909.

city administration and the Parks Board, as it campaigned for a garden at the C.N.R. Station, and for improvements to the bare river bank. It also encouraged the Parks Board to co-sponsor a lecture by Mr and Mrs Dunnington-Grubb as they journeyed along the lecture circuit in the West. [47]

The Board of Trade's most concerted involvement in civic beautification, however, came with its idea of the Working Men's Garden Competition in 1913, "with a view to encouraging gardening on the part of the working people of the city." [48] The gardens were planted and judged, with the judges being "surprised at the beauty and the taste of the many gardens visited by them and also at the interest exhibited by our working people in the growing of flowers." [49] The Parks Board assisted with the Vacant Lot Garden Scheme, deeming it an "excellent movement." [50] By 1914, as the economy of the city declined, the Board of Trade decided that, while the idea was a good one, it would not hold the garden competition again. However, the Parks Board now took up the "Vacant Lot, Working Men's and City Beautiful Competition." [51] Eventually, the City took over the Vacant Lot Gardening project, providing space for citizens' gardens on vacant lots and in parks. [52]

What began as an effort toward civic beautification turned into a functional practice whereby citizens could grow part of their food supply for a nominal rent (25 cents per lot). The City provided citizens with the opportunity to acquire "surplus stock from the greenhouses in the interests of education along beautification lines." [53] In another example of this functional use of land, the Children's Aid Society was "permitted to graze cows on College Park provided the Society assumes responsibility for repairs to the fence." [54]

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[47]Saskatoon Board of Trade, Minutes, 21 February 1911, 16 May 1911 & 15 August 1911.
[48]Saskatoon Board of Trade, Minutes, 15 April 1913.
[49]Saskatoon Board of Trade, Minutes, 12 August 1913.
[50]Saskatoon Public Library, Local History Room, f:Parks-1913, article by E.B. Smith, Secretary of the Parks Board.
[51]Saskatoon Board of Trade, Minutes, 10 March 1914, 7 April 1914, 18 August 1914.
[52]Saskatoon Board of Trade, Minutes, 27 February 1917;
City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f287 24 March 1922, 21 April 1922;
City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f289 30 January 1923.
[53]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f287 21 June 1922.
[54]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f287 14 July 1922.

Land Acquisition and Planning

The acquisition of park land in Saskatoon (as in other cities in the study) can be divided into two categories: land whose acquisition was deliberately planned through a process of searching and negotiating for appropriate sites; and land which the city acquired by chance, by goodwill, because of the influence of outside forces or by combinations of these factors. This latter group will be dealt with first. The motives behind these acquisitions are not always evident in the available correspondence and, on occasion, the researcher must rely on interpretations provided by other writers in their recollections and chronicles of Saskatoon's development.

Unplanned Land Acquisition

In 1909, the City acquired the sites of Wilson Park and Ashworth-Holmes Park. The 1912 recollections of the City Clerk were that Ashworth-Holmes Park was "donated by John Ashworth and Joseph H. Holmes in April 1909," with the city agreeing to beautify the property by spending $400 per year between 1909 and 1912. The clerk's recollection of Wilson Park was that it was:

> purchased from Archie Wilson on April 9th, 1909 for $1,000 . . . I understand it was the original intention of Messrs. Wilson Bros. to donate this park to the city, free of charge, but that on account of the city transferring a portion of it to the City of Saskatoon, for a right of way Messrs. Wilson Bros. required this nominal sum for same. [55]

The interpretation provided by Kerr and Hanson in their 1982 study makes no mention of the beautification agreements or payments as they credit the real estate trade with recognizing some amenities and reserving them: "sometimes realtors were more enlightened or more generous and set aside public preserves - Ashworth-Holmes and Wilson Parks." [56]

According to Kerr and Hanson, a visit and speaking engagement by Henry Vivian, a Member of Parliament and planning expert from Britain, prompted the acquisition of Buena Vista Park:

> Council members were present and two days later reacted to a new subdivision plan for the Buena Vista area in light of Vivian's comments. They demanded that a block

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[55]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 17 Jan 1912.
[56]Kerr and Hanson, p. 285.

of land be set aside for park purposes (now Buena Vista Park).[57]

The Clerk's recollection of the acquisition of Buena Vista Park was that it was "purchased from the Commercial Traveller's Investment Co., January 30, 1911, for the sum of $10,812.92." [58] The block may have been set aside, but the city paid handsomely for the privilege of acquiring it.

Two parks, Beaver Creek Park and Cahill Park, were acquired through donations in 1913 and 1914 as the financial climate worsened. The 30 acre Beaver Creek Park was donated "as a park for the City" by Mr. C.A. Gillespie in 1913. [59] Seven years later, in 1920, Mr. Gillespie offered the City another 200 acres at Beaver Creek for $10,000. This time Council turned down his offer, in spite of the Parks Board's support for the acquisition, favoring the Finance Committee's recommendation that the offer not be considered:

> in view of the necessity of keeping down capital expenditures to the minimum at the present time, your Committee while recognizing the desirability of the property for the purpose of an addition to the present park at Beaver Creek does not consider the offer can be entertained. [60]

The park addition was considered a good opportunity which did not mesh with the economic reality of 1920. The Parks Board's support for the acquisition of the Gillespie Property was based on its opinion that "the city should be in control of all properties in the vicinity of the City suitable and necessary for park purposes." [61] The second park, Cahill Park, was much smaller than the one at Beaver Creek. This 1.5 acre site was donated by Mr. F.S. Cahill in 1914. [62]

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[57]Kerr and Hanson, p. 285.
[58]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 17 January 1912.
[59]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 16 June 1913, 6 October 1913, 10 November 1913;
City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 13 November 1913.
[60]City of Saskatoon, Parks Board Minutes, 27 August 1920;
City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 30 August 1920.
[61]City of Saskatoon, Parks Board Minutes, 27 August 1920;
City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 30 August 1920.
[62]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 9 February 1914, 2 March 1914;
City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f288 25 March 1914.

Planned Land Acquisition

The first deliberate action to acquire a park in the expanding suburbs of Saskatoon was made in 1909. The Parks and Cemeteries Committee recommended that "a block of lots be purchased near Hill's Factory between 17th St. and 20th St. for park purposes." [63] Rather than selecting a parcel and negotiating for it, Council decided to call tenders for a block of land "situated somewhere between 17th Street and 22nd Street, and Avenue H and Avenue P."[64] Two tenders were received, but one was outside the city limits and not considered. The remaining tender was for a block between Avenues J and K and 18th and 19th Streets, for $9,000. [65] After consideration, the Parks and Cemeteries Committee recommended that the originally tendered block, together with one-half of an adjacent block, be purchased in order to make the park large enough for athletic purposes. [66]

When the proposed money bylaw for this West Side Park went to a vote of the ratepayers it was turned down, apparently largely due to votes against it by ratepayers in the other parts of the city. [67] In response to this defeat, voters on the west side wards organized for another vote on the money bylaw in September 1909 - this time winning enough support for the land purchase. [68]

Not all of the Parks Board's land interests were in suburban Saskatoon. An island in the South Saskatchewan River about three miles upstream from the townsite was also attractive as a potential park site. The Mayor and Council sought and acquired a lease from the Department of the Interior for the island, later known as Yorath Island. [69] Access to the island was either via South Park (Holiday Park) or from the townsite via the Saskatchewan Navigation and Recreation Company steam boat. [70] Yorath Island remained as a Saskatoon

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[63] *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 11 March 1909.
[64] *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 23 March 1909, p. 4.
[65] *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 8 April 1909, p. 3.
[66] *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 22 April 1909, p. 6.
[67] *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 19 May 1909;
Kerr and Hanson, 1982, p. 280.
[68] Kerr and Hanson, p. 280.
[69] City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, 24 March 1911, 3 May 1911;
City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 17 February 1927.
[70] Saskatoon Public Library, Local History Room, f:Parks-1912;
Kerr and Hanson, p. 116 citing *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 11 May 1912.

park until 1925 when the Department of National Defence leased it from the city to use as a rifle range. Two years later the lease reverted back to the Crown in order that the rifle range could be developed further. [71]

Also, in the boom year, 1911, City Council and its committees agreed that the Parks Board be asked to select sites for playground and athletic purposes. In an attempt to keep the Parks Board from encountering speculators attempting to raise the price of land, the City Clerk suggested "in connection with the selecting of these sites that care be taken so as not to let it be known for what purpose the property is to be used until the purchase is completed."[72] Within three months, the Board made its recommendations and was authorized to purchase six parcels of land. [73] The recommended parcels were: Rogers Addition Block 14 ($12,320) and Block 17 ($15,000); College Park Addition Block 6 ($9,000) and Block 1 ($11,500); Plan FD Block 12 south part ($6,000) and north part ($5,950). These sites were soon listed in the City's parks inventory. [74]

The second deliberate planning and land acquisition program did not begin until 1926. As had been the situation in 1911, the economic climate in 1926 was conducive to the expansion of the city's facilities and services. In the intervening years, however, Saskatoon had proceeded from basking in "the comfortable glow of prosperity," in 1911 to a much less positive economic situation, wherein funds were not available for land acquisition. [75]

The decline in Saskatoon's financial fortunes began in 1913, with the causes of the decline being attributed to the shortage of available funds on the money market, excess demands for the overextension of credit, and the low wheat prices. [76] By 1915, the City's Commissioners were calling for "strict economies" with no funds for new boulevards and new parks, providing only for the maintenance of the existing parks and boulevards. [77]

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[71]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 16 February 1925, 17 February 1927, 28 March 1927.
[72]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 18 October 1911.
[73] City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 22 January 1912;
City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 23 January 1912.
[74]Saskatoon Public Library, Local History Room, f:Parks-1913, Smith.
[75]Saskatchewan Archives Board - Saskatoon, G12.55 "The Call of the Beautiful."
[76]Kerr and Hanson, pp. 118-119.
[77]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 4 January 1915.

Kerr and Hanson described the economic situation during the decade of the 1920's in the following manner:

> In economic terms the decade was cut precisely in half: five years of economic retrenchment followed by five years of economic expansion, a pattern experienced throughout the country . . . Starting in 1926 Saskatoon experienced its second boom and the years at the end of the decade were very good ones for the city. [78]

It was Saskatoon's economic retrenchment that had made the acquisition of the Gillespie property at Beaver Creek unfeasible. Even though the Parks Board had wanted to acquire suitable property in the vicinity of the city, the Finance Committee had recommended against it. Council and the Parks Board thus did not consider any new major land acquisitions until 1926.

In 1926, efforts to dedicate land for athletic grounds or parks were not aimed at selecting the best of all sites for these purposes, but rather at selecting sites from among the properties which the city had acquired through default in the payment of municipal taxes. [79] The Parks Board appointed a special committee to "report on properties belonging to the City secured through tax sale proceedings and necessary for additional park space in the City." [80] The committee reported to the Parks Board and, through it, to Council. Eight months after the exercise began, Council adopted a list of eight properties in the Parks Board report. The Parks Board had recommended that "Council set these properties aside as parks," but Council's actions were not quite as decisive as the Parks Board had recommended. Council decided not to dedicate the eight properties as parks, but only to withdraw them from tax sale proceedings, although the Board could use the sites providing they not "permanently lay out the properties . . . for park purposes without receiving the sanction of the Council." [81] It was a partial step, involving some planning, but little financial commitment. By mid-1927, the Parks Board requested and received a report regarding "setting aside suitable spaces for playgrounds." [82]

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[78]Kerr and Hanson, p. 233.
[79]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f288 19 February 1926; City of Saskatoon, Parks Board Minutes, 19 February 1926.
[80]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f288 July 1926.
[81]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 25 October 1926.
[82]City of Saskatoon, Parks Board Minutes, 15 July 1927.

By mid-1928, at the same time as the Kinsmen Club was establishing supervised playgrounds, and in the midst of the work of the Town Planning Board, the Parks Board requested Council "to set aside suitable properties for athletic purposes." [83] Council's prompt response was to ask the Parks Board to designate appropriate properties. [84] The combination of good economic times and a developing interest in planning might lead one to conjecture that substantial progress might be made in planning and acquiring park land in Saskatoon. This position would, however, have been an overly optimistic one.

The Parks Board's Special Committee to designate the properties operated with the basic assumptions "that further park and playground space should be provided in all parts of the City which will adequately take care of the City's growth for some time to come" and that "it was considered useless to make recommendations for open space where the City is not the owner of the property owing to the expense involved." [85] The report contained recommendations for 12 sites for parks, six of which had been in the previous list, prepared in 1926.

For the next three years the report proceeded slowly through the units of civic government. The report from the Special Committee to the Parks Board went to City Council as a recommendation from the Board, was referred to the Real Estate Committee of Council and then returned to Council with the recommendation that the parcels of land "be withdrawn from sale for consideration when the Town Planning Commission has evolved its scheme respecting parks and playgrounds in the City." [86] The matter was sent to the Town Planning Commission and in 1931 was discussed and approved by the Commission and returned to the Parks Board which recommended to Council that the properties, which were all owned by the City, be dedicated for park and playground purposes. [87] City Council then adopted the

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[83] City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 5 June 1928.
[84] Ibid.
[85] City of Saskatoon, Parks Board Minutes, 16 November 1928.
[86] City of Saskatoon, Parks Board Minutes, 16 November 1928, 19 November 1928; City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 19 November 1828, 29 November 1928, 16 September 1929.
[87] City of Saskatoon, Parks Board Records, 15 May 1931, 21 May 1931.

Board's recommendation.[88] Thus, the 1931 policy for dedicating 11 parks was based firmly on the 1928 recommendation for dedicating 12 parks which, in turn, was based on the 1926 report.

Property on the Saskatchewan River

The Parks Board was interested in the acquisition of river front property in 1912, as the Board Secretary, Rev. E.B. Smith, declared at the time.

> One of the fundamental principles of our policy is to secure for the general public as much river frontage as possible. Other cities are now spending enormous sums in buying back such property. Sometimes even with us it has been at heavy cost, but we have reclaimed much of this property that had passed out of the City's control, so that now we have a drive consisting of the entire river frontage on one side of the river for a distance of five miles, and right through the heart of the City. A considerable portion of the East side of the river has also been secured.[89]

Smith also reported that landscape work and improvements were being made to the river bank.

The acquisition of "river frontage" does not appear to be synonymous with possession of the "river bank." "River frontage" seems to refer to a roadway along or near the top of the bank. The Board of Trade had been active in promoting a driveway along the river when Saskatoon had barely achieved city status. In June 1907, the Board requested "a driveway on both sides of the river."[90] While not specifying where the driveway should be, it did suggest improvements to Spadina Crescent which paralleled the river.[91]

The next discussions about access to views of the South Saskatchewan River and use of the river bank as city owned parkland began in 1919. Initial emphasis was on acquiring land on the west side of the river, which was not controlled by the City or the C.N.R., particularly in the downtown area. The land between the 25th Street Bridge and Avenue A was owned by a Mr. Terwindt. His prices for the land, $41,000 in 1919, $85,000 in 1923 and

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[88]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 14 September 1931.
[89]E.B. Smith, "What Saskatoon is DoingTowards Beautifying the City," *Western Municipal News* 10 (August 1912): 243.
Smith's reference to the "East side of the river," means the Nutana area, described in some documents as the east side of of the river and in others as the south side.
[90]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, 3 June 1907.
[91]*Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, 4 June 1907.

$42,000 in 1927 were not acceptable to Council. [92]

A concerted effort to acquire possession of the river bank began early in 1928, when Alderman Underwood, who was also on the Town Planning Board, requested information about river bank ownership "with a view of the City acquiring if possible all river bank property within the City limits." [93] The same alderman was appointed chairman of the committee to investigate this matter. When reporting on the ownership of the river bank, Alderman Underwood and the committee recommended "that the Parks Board request the City Council to take immediate steps to control all River Bank lands" with the exception of the C.N.R. land, the bank by Saskatchewan Crescent and through the University. [94] These properties were described as being "portions which will be difficult to obtain" and thus were left out of the recommendation.

Council was committed to acquiring river bank property, to the extent of using expropriation procedures when real estate negotiations did not work. [95] The city's first efforts to expropriate were nullified by the C.N.R.'s expropriation procedures in order to acquire the site for its new hotel, the Bessborough. The City drew back, changed the boundaries of the expropriation, and proceeded again more successfully. [96]

Professional Planners

Professional planners were employed in Saskatoon twice during the decade of the 1910's. The Morell and Nichols firm, which also worked in Edmonton, was hired to prepare a comprehensive park plan and some site designs in 1911, while C.J. Yorath, the City Commissioner, completed a comprehensive planning scheme for the whole city in 1914.

Anthony V. Morell of the Minneapolis firm, Morell and Nichols, was hired by the Parks Board on the recommendation of its secretary, E.B. Smith, in 1911. After an attempt to solicit plans for the parks through a local design competition, the Parks Board adopted the

[92]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 17 May 1919, 21 May 1923, 6 June 1927.
[93]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f287 27 January 1928.
[94]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f287 18 May 1928.
[95]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 22 October 1928, 4 February 1929, 2 May 1929, 13 May 1929, 10 June 1929, 17 February 1930.
[96]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 8 July 1929, 17 February 1930.

following policy:

> Instead of developing individual parks according to the ideas of local and more or less irresponsible artists and aspiring landscape gardeners, we decided to employ the services of the very best Landscape Architect that could be secured. Whatever the cost might be we would bring him to our City, and in this way get the very best advice and assistance. To this end the secretary was deputed to visit various Cities where it was known that an up-to-date policy of park and boulevard development was in operation. [97]

The Secretary, E.B. Smith, evidently was extremely impressed by the park system in Minneapolis and hoped that Saskatoon could rival the magnificent achievements of that "modern and progressive city." After interviews with a number of landscape architects, Smith recommended that Morell and Nichols be hired. The firm subsequently prepared a plan for proposed "play-grounds, parks and park-ways." By 1912 Smith was able to report that several sites had been acquired. [98] Site plans were produced for Buena Vista, Wilson, Idyl Wild and Ashworth-Holmes Parks and for the City Cemetery. [99] All plans were accepted by the Parks Board. [100] However, only the plans for Ashworth-Holmes and for boulevarding the streets were accepted for implementation by City Council. [101]

Playgrounds

While E.B. Smith's early review of the parks in Saskatoon in 1912 mentions some work in developing playgrounds, the most evident efforts began in 1918 and were revived after a ten-year lapse, in 1928. Smith's 1912 account noted that:

> little has been done in the way of providing equipment for play-grounds. Some small apparatus has been secured and some instruction given to the youth of the City in gymnastics and calisthenics. [102]

In making this statement, Smith seemed to be referring to grounds suitable for engaging in athletic play rather than the notion of supervised play areas with games, crafts, music, and the like, as promoted by the National Council of Women.

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[97]Smith, p. 242.
[98]Ibid.
[99]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f282 8 December 1911.
[100]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 18 March 1912.
[101]City of Saskatoon, Recreation Committee Minutes, 15 December 1911;
City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 15 April 1912.
[102]Smith, p. 243.

In 1918 a local group, the Citizens Educational League, received a $300 grant from City Council "towards the upkeep of supervised playgrounds for children." [103] The actual operation of the playgrounds in 1918 seems to have been done in conjunction with the School Board. At least, in its 1919 request for funds, the Board credited itself with the playground work:

> During last summer this Board undertook the work of supervision of playgrounds in the City Schools for the benefit of the children in the holidays. The Citizens Educational League supported this with a grant of funds which covered the major portion of the expenses.
>
> This year, it is suggested by the Board, this work might well be referred to your Council for consideration . . . [104]

The School Board did not have the funds to continue its involvement - neither did City Council. [105]

The Saskatoon Council of Women claimed a contribution to the development of playgrounds: "on May 27, 1918, the Council of Women with the Citizens Educational League requested Saskatoon City Council for $300." As well, the Council of Women's history notes that "throughout the years the convenors of the Council's Recreation Committee assisted actively and continuously with supervised playgrounds." [106] There is no available evidence that there were any supervised playgrounds in Saskatoon between 1918 and 1928. At the 1928 annual meeting of the Saskatoon Council of Women a report on recreation advocated public playgrounds - "the time has come . . . when there is more need of recreation for young people." [107] That same year, another service organization, the Saskatoon Kinsmen Club, began its "experiment" of providing supervised playgrounds. The experiment was "to ascertain to what extent supervised playgrounds would be patronized by the children of the city if a broad scheme of playground work was launched." [108]

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[103]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 27 May 1918;
Saskatchewan Archives Board - Saskatoon, B82 Box F 27 November 1963.
[104]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f284 12 June 1919.
[105]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 23 June 1919;
City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f284 24 June 1919.
[106]Saskatchewan Archives Board - Saskatoon, B82 Box 4, *Saskatoon Council of Women 1916-1966*, p. 26.
[107]Saskatchewan Archives Board - Saskatoon, B82 Scrapbook Clipping January 1928.
[108]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f288 13 January 1930.

After two years of operating the playgrounds financed by the proceeds from the Kinsmen summer carnival, assisted in 1929 by a $500 grant from City Council, the Kinsmen Club proposed a "Playgrounds Commission responsible directly to City Council." [109] In making this recommendation, early in 1930, the Kinsmen Club was casting an idea upon a rather receptive City Council. Provision of parks and playgrounds had been part of the election campaign platforms of several candidates for mayor and aldermen. One candidate for mayor, already an alderman, noted on the topic of supervised playgrounds "that it was under consideration that the council should go into the question thoroughly and possibly the school board would be asked to supervise playgrounds and that an outside commission would be appointed with representatives of the Kinsmen Club and other societies interested in the matter." [110] This alderman seems to have been aware of discussions which did not appear in council minutes or files.

Two successful candidates for alderman, Mr. R.M. Pinder and Mr. J.S. Mills, included references to playgrounds and recreation as part of their platforms. Mr. Pinder believed:

> that the matter of recreation for the children of Saskatoon is important and that we should at this time provide for ample accommodation for playgrounds for future use.[111]

Mr. Mills, of the Saskatchewan Normal School:

> had one plank for this election. Winter and summer recreation for young people . . . he considered that attention to the recreation of young people and the making of it unnecessary for them to play on the streets was important enough to be a civic duty.[112]

The campaign for City Council positions included many references to expanding civic facilities and services. The *Saskatoon Star Phoenix* recognized and encouraged this spirit:

> Saskatoon must have streets, parks, playgrounds, utilities and civic buildings proper to its size and importance. It has definitely come out of its small town chrysalis and blossomed as a city. The candidates we want to improve and beautify it have got hold of that fact. [113]

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[109]Ibid.
[110]*Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, 3 December 1929.
[111]*Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, 7 December 1929, p. 24.
[112]*Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, 3 December 1929, p. 17.
[113]*Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, 4 December 1929, p. 4.

Parks and playgrounds could help in creating a city's image. When the Kinsmen Club made its recommendation to council, a committee was struck to submit "a full report on the proposed plan and personnel of the Commission." [114] Alderman Mills was chairman of that committee. Within two weeks the committee reported, with a recommendation that there be a Playgrounds Association with membership from Council (Ald. Mills and Ald. Pinder), the Kinsmen Club, the Public School Board, the Separate School Board, the High School Board, the Trades and Labour Council, the Parks Superintendent (ex officio), E.W. Griffiths of the University of Saskatchewan and J.F. West of the Y.M.C.A. [115] To this group were later added representatives of the Central Council of the Home and School Association and the Saskatoon Council of Women, after these groups requested representation, together with the superintendent of Public Schools as well as Ethel Cartwright, formerly of the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association. The city's first full-time staff member in charge of recreation matters, George Ward, was hired early in 1930. [116]

By the end of 1930 the Playground Association had taken over all facets of playground operation, including the supervision, direction, management, control and placing of equipment for the playgrounds. [117] At the end of its first season of operation, the Playgrounds Association proudly proclaimed its success in:

> the progression and development of the playground movement - the great task of helping children to be healthy and fit for the business of life and making them happier and their life more wholehearted. [118]

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[114]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 20 January 1930.
[115]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 3 February 1930.
[116] E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/Recreation, 1970), p. 44.
[117]City of Saskatoon, Parks and Recreation Department Records, Box 125 14 June 1930, 21 July 1930;
City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 8 December 1930;
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Bylaw #2026, 17 March 1930.
[118]City of Saskatoon, Parks Board Minutes, 21 March 1930;
City of Saskatoon, Parks and Recreation Department Records, Box 125 Director's Annual Report and Resume of the Work of the Saskatoon Playgrounds Association.

Comprehensive Planning

Housing and town planning were active issues in both Regina and Saskatoon, beginning in 1913. In Saskatoon interest in town planning can be traced to three influences: provincial legislation, the Parks Board and C.J. Yorath. Saskatoon does not seem to have been on the route travelled by Thomas Mawson and Thomas Adams as they promoted planning efforts in Canada. As noted previously, Henry Vivian of England lectured in Saskatoon. The Dunnington-Grubbs' interest in lecturing was passed on from the Board of Trade to the City Clerk, but no invitation was forthcoming from the City.[119]

In July 1913, changes were made to provincial legislation regarding the subdivision of land. Two notable changes involved, firstly, requiring that at least five percent of the land in a subdivision be set aside for "public purposes other than traffic" and, secondly, setting the minimum frontage of residential lots at 40 feet. [120] Unfortunately, most of the subdivision and building in Saskatoon either had been completed or was "on hold" due to the economic depression. As a result, the change in legislation had little immediate impact.

The second influence came from the Parks Board - with indirect assistance from the Canadian Commission of Conservation. After receiving a letter from the Commission inquiring "what steps were being taken by the City in respect to Town Planning," the Parks Board discussed the question and sent a resolution to Council "that the Council take into consideration the future planning of the City along the lines of modern Town Planning." [121] The Parks Board which assumed that Saskatoon would continue to grow rapidly, included in this communication a list of the benefits of preparing a plan. [122] The assumption of growth was, it later turned out, not relevant for Saskatoon in 1913.

The third influence, and probably the most dynamic, was the work of the newly arrived City Commissioner, Christopher J. Yorath. Yorath took it upon himself to prepare a Town Planning Scheme for Saskatoon, including park planning recommendations, to promote

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[119]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 21 August 1911.
[120]S. Young, "Planning Progress in Saskatchewan," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* 10 (February 1931): 5.
[121]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f:Parks Commission 7 June 1913.
[122]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 16 June 1913.

a Town Planning Act for Saskatchewan by petitioning both the provincial government and representatives of other cities, to speak on the matter at the meetings of planning groups such as the Alberta Housing and Town Planning Association, and to contribute to Canadian Journals. [123]

Unfortunately for Commissioner Yorath and the City, the basic premise on which his plan for Saskatoon was based - continuing growth - was no longer appropriate. In addition, there was no provincial legislation in place to give authority to any planning exercises. The appropriate legislation, the *Town Planning and Rural Development Act*, was not passed until 1917. It was followed by the *Town Planning and Rural Develoment Procedure Regulations* in 1919. The Act and the Regulations made it:

- obligatory upon the local authority to adopt development bylaws or a development scheme under the Act before the 15th December, 1920. [124]

On December 20, 1920 City Council adopted a resolution to apply to the Minister of Municipal Affairs for authority to prepare a development scheme and appointed Yorath to be the development engineer as required under the Act. [125] Soon after this action, Yorath left to work for the City of Edmonton, and Saskatoon's immediate priorities shifted from planning to dealing with the poor financial conditions. [126]

No further planning activities took place until 1927. The reasons for this seven year delay are not clear. However, it may have been a combination of Mr. Yorath's departure to another city, combined with the low priority that town planning had at the provincial level. In an action that reflected either a genuine interest in planning legislation or an attempt at to keep up with Regina, the City Solicitor recommended forming a Planning Board similar to the

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[123]Kerr and Hanson, pp. 286-287;
City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 23 March 1914;
City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f368 25 March 1914, 11 April 1914;
Saskatoon Daily Phoenix, 27 June 1914;
C.J. Yorath, "Housing and Town Planning," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 10 (September 1914): 354.

[124] City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, Commissioners Report 30-1920, 25 October 1920.

[125]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f368 21 December 1920.

[126]Kerr and Hanson, p. 287.

one in Regina.[127] The Board was formed with two members of the Town Planning Institute of Canada, Alderman J.E. Underwood, local surveyor and civil engineer, as Chairman, and Prof. C.E. Mackenzie, Dean of Engineering at the University of Saskatchewan, as Vice-Chairman.[128] The volunteer board formed 12 committees to "study and report to the Board on the different phases of Town Planning." These committees addressed Transportation, Transit, Recreation, Major Street Plan, Zoning, Population Growth, Housing and Sanitation, Civic Art, Legal, Administrative and Financial, Subdivision of Lands, Traffic Control, Bibliography and Liaison. [129] Much of the next fifteen months seems to have been taken up with the work of these 12 committees, with some cooperative activities with other city committees such as the committee to designate properties for parks.[130]

In 1928, the *Town Planning and Rural Development Act* was replaced by the *Town Planning Act*. [131] In accordance with the requirements of this legislation, the Town Planning Board recommended that a Town Planning Commission be appointed. [132] The new Commission continued to include Prof. MacKenzie and Mr. Underwood - a point noted by the Journal of the Town Planning Institute:

> the City of Saskatoon is taking town planning seriously and seems to be proceeding with some originality and a good deal of common sense. The city council have appointed a Town Planning Commission with a stronger contingent of technical men than is customary and seem disposed to give the commission a reasonable chance to do something. [133]

The Commission produced a zoning plan passed by the Saskatchewan Legislature on August 18, 1930, followed by a Town Planning Report prepared in conjunction with the planning consultants Wilson, Bunnell and Borgstrom of Toronto. [134] Once again the city was entering a

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[127]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f368 30 June 1927.
[128]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 18 July 1927;
City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f368 19 September 1927;
"Town Planning Movement in Saskatoon," *Journal of the Town Planning* 6(October 1927): 185.
[129]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f368 14 November 1927.
[130]City of Saskatoon, City Clerk's Records, f368 13 November 1928.
[131]Young, p. 6.
[132]City of Saskatoon, Minutes of City Council, 4 March 1929.
[133]"Planning for Saskatoon," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* 9(February 1930): 19.
[134]S. Young, "Zoning Bylaw for Saskatoon," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*

period of expected growth, and once again this was an incorrect prediction, as the Depression began.

Summary and Analysis

In 1930, Saskatoon's park and playground services (the product) included 20 park sites in the city and two outside the city limits, as well as 10 sites that were being considered for park designation. Two playgrounds were being operated with some municipal financial assistance. The Town Planning Commission was completing the zoning bylaw. The City had a Parks Board managing the park lands and the Saskatoon Playgrounds Association was in its formative stages. The process of developing parks and playgrounds had begun 47 years earlier in 1883 as the townsite was located on the south bank of the South Saskatchewan River. Through the intervening years of park and playground development, several key actors and environmental conditions had an impact on activities and events in Saskatoon. As in the other cities in the study, the four elements of the interpretive framework which should explain what happened in Saskatoon are ideology, environment, distribution of power and rational decision making.

While the prevailing ideas associated with urban reform and civic boosterism provide an, at times substantial, part of the explanation of the development of parks and playgrounds in other cities in the study, in Saskatoon they provide limited explanation. Urban reform and civic boosterism rhetoric was certainly present, but there were limited links to the process of developing parks and playgrounds, and fewer links to the product - the recreation services in place in Saskatoon.

Two themes frequently arose in the efforts promoting the development of parks in Saskatoon: the first was the use of parks for beautification and hence to improve the image of the town and later city; the second theme likens the establishment and management of parks to a business proposition with references to business-like practices. The town park, the

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[134](cont'd) 9 (December 1930): 121;
Kerr and Hanson, p. 289;
"Saskatoon--Zoning and Preliminary Town Plan," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* 10 (June 1931): 55.

railway park, the railway park garden competitions, the Vacant Lot Garden Scheme and references to parks and playgrounds in the 1929 election were promoted in the interests of beauty and advertising, as was the 1909 effort to establish a Parks Commission which would be interested in beautifying the City. With the exception of the 1929 election campaign, these efforts sparked little action.

The second theme, regarding business-like practices, either occurred or was implicit in several discussions: for example, in comments regarding the establishment of a parks commission in 1904, when it was stated that they should look for men who would take sufficient interest in the issue; in the debate of the rationale for land acquisition in 1906, that the value of the the land would increase and therefore it should be purchased immediately as a business proposition; and in the change to professional staff who would have more time, in 1915. This latter theme, that of the need to establish business-like practices was more successful than the beautification theme. It, however, contributed more to process than to product.

Successful ideas seem to have been ones which either were brought by experts from elsewhere or can be linked to national organizations. There are several examples to illustrate the part of the ideology explanation involving the transmission of ideas from elsewhere to Saskatoon. One example was the lecture given by Henry Vivian which may have had an impact on the acquisition of Buena Vista Park. Even though Saskatoon was not visited by the two experts, Thomas Mawson and Frederick Todd, in their consulting excursions to other cities in the study, Saskatoon did hire a consulting firm from elsewhere. With the encouragement of E.B. Smith, Secretary of the Parks Board, and based on his favourable impression of Minneapolis, "that modern and progressive city," the City of Saskatoon hired the Minneapolis firm of Morell and Nichols to prepare plans for its parks and playgrounds. This visit of Rev. Smith to Minneapolis which resulted in the hiring of the consulting firm, most likely brought new ideas to Saskatoon with him as well as with the consultants. Mr. Mills of the Saskatchewan Normal School was most likely trained in child development which assisted in his work in the Playground Association. A similar situation also occurred in the

work of Ethel Cartwright, who had worked with the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association. Prof. MacKenzie of the University of Saskatchewan and Mr. Underwood, a professional surveyor, were both members of the Town Planning Institute of Canada and subject to the thoughts and writings about planning as promoted by that organization. Mr. Yorath was trained as an engineer and was active in the organization promoting planning in Saskatchewan and Alberta. His interest, as well as a gentle nudge from the Canadian Commission of Conservation, encouraged the Parks Board to promote modern town planning.

Again, with the exception of a possible explanation for the acquisition of one piece of park land (Buena Vista Park), these ideas are ones which contribute to process, not product. Thus, ideology had little impact on the development of parks. The impact on the development of playgrounds was very late in occurring. With the exception of the one year operation in 1918 and the Kinsmen Club's two-year experiment in 1928-29, playgrounds were not organized until 1930, at the very end of the time period of the study. Parks and playgrounds were viewed as evidence of the city's image, but were not acquired as a result of the rhetoric promoting the image.

Of more impact than ideology, were aspects of the social, economic, political and physical environment. Although Saskatoon was a growing center, its population growth was not a characteristic cited by those advocating parks and playgrounds. In contrast to the situation which provided the rationale for park and playground development in other centers, there were few social problems noted which required alleviation. The limited statements about parks and playgrounds usually suggested that this would increase the beauty of Saskatoon. Not until 1928, was there mention of the need for recreation for young people, although there had been supervised playgrounds for one summer in 1918. The only example of a park property acquired in response to social concerns was the parcel of land near Hill's factory acquired in 1909. The documents do not provide any background reasons for this purchase, although it may have been intended to serve local residents, possibly workers at the factory.

In the case of Saskatoon, economic factors which were cited in park and playground development include not only the funds available for land acquisition and development, but

also the perception by advocates that land prices would rise. On two occasions, the Parks Board was authorized to carry out searches for park sites. In 1911-12, when municipal funds were relatively freely available, six sites were promptly purchased. After the international and local economic climate worsened in 1913, the City's Commissioners called for strict economies with no land acquisitions. Even in 1920, the City was not in a position to acquire more land. As in the other cities, the City of Saskatoon acquired much property due to the land owners defaulting on the payment of property taxes. Thus, by 1926 when the city experienced its second boom, it had both an available land base from which to choose park properties and financial resources with which to implement any recommendations.

In 1926, even though tax sale land was available, the Council was tentative in its decision making. As a result, the 1926 recommendation of the Parks Board and the Special Committee was not immediately implemented, but instead made its way for five years at a slow pace through various units of municipal government, including the newly established Town Planning Commission. Thus, the advantage gained by the impact of the economic environment was not quickly taken up.

The view held by park advocates regarding land as an investment against future rises in value was noted only in Saskatoon, although it may have been an unstated philosophy in other cities. The Board of Trade's call in 1906 to acquire the Butler property included as part of its rationale, the land's use for recreation, but also recommended that the land would be a business proposition because of its increasing value.

The acquisition of parks by the Town (and then City) of Saskatoon had a lower priority than a number of other projects such as streets, street lighting, sewerage and waterworks. One park site was acquired in the hope that the railway would cross the river at that point, while the acquisition of other park sites was delayed so as to not spend funds on low priority items. The acquisition of other parcels of land is attributed to donations from local land owners and the enlightenment of realtors, coupled with the influence of the pro-planning rhetoric of an itinerant planner on a speaking tour.

The political environment at the local, and provincial and national levels provided substantial impact on the process of developing parks and playgrounds.

The establishment of organizations to manage both parks and playgrounds was affected by the election of key supporters to City Council. Although Dr. Willoughby had been very vocal in his efforts to promote the creation of a parks commission in 1904, it was not until his election to Council in 1907, having as part of his platform a program of street and park improvements under the direction of a specially appointed board, that legislation for the Parks Board was passed. The development of a municipal organization responsible for playgrounds occurred over 20 years after the Parks Board. The Playgrounds Association was established in 1930, within two months of the election to City Council of Mr. Mills and Mr. Pinder who had playgrounds and recreation as part of their respective platforms.

At the provincial level, Saskatoon councillors and staff members both influenced the introduction of legislation and then, were guided by that legislation. The first legislation applicable to the whole province, which Commissioner Yorath of Saskatoon had promoted, was the *Town Planning and Rural Development Act* of 1917. However, Saskatoon did limited planning under that Act. In contrast, the 1929 *Town Planning Act* enabled the City to establish a Town Planning Commission which quickly produced a zoning plan and then continued with a town planning report.

Although some interest in town planning can be attributed to provincial legislation, most of the influence came from people and organizations at the local level - the Parks Board, the City Commissioner and local members of the Town Planning Institute of Canada. The pressure groups active in other cities were less involved in Saskatoon. Neither the Board of Trade nor the Saskatoon Council of Women had substantial impact in the city.

The *Saskatoon Public Parks Act* which gave City Council and the Parks Board the authority to acquire and manage park land was provincial legislation. Although the Act was expected to give the Board more autonomy, this does not seem to have occurred as City Council retained decision making authority through its control over the Board's budget.

At the national level, political influence came from a railway and from the Commission of Conservation. The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway's influence on parks occurred when the City acquired a parcel of land, ostensibly for a park, but also near the site where the G.T.P. would cross the South Saskatchewan River. Thus, the City could offer the railway a crossing site and control that part of the railway's course, as well as providing an opportunity for park establishment.

The Canadian Commission of Conservation had taken up town planning as part of its mandate. As part of its information gathering role, the Commission communicated with Saskatoon's City Council about the state of planning in the city. Thus, it stimulated the local Parks Board to encourage Council to consider planning the City along the lines of modern town planning. Whether or not this was a deliberate intervention from the Commission of Conservation cannot be ascertained; however, it did serve to stimulate discussion in City Council.

The physical environment of Saskatoon had a substantial impact on the development of parks using the attributes of the site including the river and its valley. In contrast to Regina, nature had bestowed some gifts (water and trees) on this site, and Saskatoon's park system used the natural advantage of the city's setting on the South Saskatchewan River. The early Temperance Colonization Society plan for the south side of the river included land for parks, some of which was eventually acquired by the municipal council. As well, the T.C.S. sold land to the town for its park on the north side of the river.

The availability of sites for parks was not necessarily followed by swift action in developing them for park purposes. Council was slow in improving the town park and very little action was taken to develop a park at the railway station, even though both sites apparently could have been of benefit to residents and been favourable indicators of the Council's and the Town's efforts. Concerted efforts were made to acquire possession of river bank property (part of the city's natural advantage) beginning in 1928, although sporadic efforts had begun in 1919.

Explanations of policy making based on the distribution of power suggest that groups which affect parks and playgrounds should have represented economic power within the community. In most centers these groups would be the Board of Trade and the Council of Women. These two groups did not have a substantial impact on parks and playgrounds in Saskatoon.

The Board of Trade was involved sporadically in parks and civic beautification projects. It began a petition to purchase park lands in 1906 and promoted the establishment of a river driveway in 1907. Its most continuing involvement was in civic beautification, using public information lectures and garden competitions. There is little evidence of its involvement in town planning, with the exception of a reference in the Annual Report of the Young Men's Section of the Board of Trade in 1930 that "they cooperated with Mr. E.K. Bunnell the town planning expert."

The Saskatoon Council of Women's involvement in playgrounds was limited to participation in the Citizen's Educational League activity in 1918; advocacy for public playgrounds to its members; and finally, by membership in the Playgrounds Association in 1930.

The limited involvement of the Board of Trade and the Council of Women was in contrast to the concerted efforts of several individuals such as Dr. Willoughby, Rev. Smith, Comm. Yorath, Ald. Mills, Prof. MacKenzie and Mr. Underwood. Dr. Willoughby, who eventually became an alderman, had influence by virtue of his profession, but also represented at least one land owner in attempts to sell land to the city for a park. Rev. Smith, again with influence based on his position, was associated with the Parks Board for 15 years, to 1923. Mr. Yorath was educated as an engineer and through his position was active in local and provincial planning matters. Mr. Mills, of the Saskatchewan Normal School, had influence because of his education and position. Mr. Underwood, trained as a surveyor and civil engineer, was an alderman and one of the local members of the Town Planning Institute of Canada. Prof. MacKenzie, the other local T.P.I.C. member and also an engineer, was influential in town planning matters.

The use of rational decision making does not contribute substantially to the explanation of the development of parks and playgrounds. In the case of some cities, the process of making decisions rationally, using logic and reason may have been advocated, but not carried out. In Saskatoon, there is little evidence to suggest that there was adoption of even the spirit of rational decision making. The limited references to such a spirit include the 1906 call to acquire park land before the price increased and the instance in 1929 where the T.P.I.C. congratulated the City for its show of common sense when experienced technical men were appointed to the Town Planning Commission.

In summary, the most useful explanations of the development of parks and playgrounds in Saskatoon come from the economic, political and physical environment with substantial influence from key individuals.

C. CALGARY

The Townsite and the Town

Like Regina, Calgary's development as an urban center was due primarily to the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1883. The North West Mounted Police had previously established a fort near the confluence of the Bow and the Elbow Rivers in 1875, and for the first seven years of its establishment, Calgary was a center for administering law and order and a trading post. [1] This role changed when, in 1882, the C.P.R. made Calgary a supply depot for crews working in the mountains. When the rail line reached Calgary a year later, in August 1883, the C.P.R. and the Canada North West Land Company began to direct the village's development.

The townsite was laid out on Section 15 by the C.P.R. surveyor in December 1883. The survey was quickly followed by land sales as the Canadian North West Land Company began to auction townsite lots in January 1884, with the C.P.R., the Land Company and the Dominion Government controlling the disposition of the land in the townsite. Figure 3, which follows, shows the current city and some elements of the park system which has developed.

The locations of four Calgary parks can be attributed to the efforts of the Dominion Government's local investigator of land claims, William Pearce. Barraclough credits Mr. Pearce with being instrumental in acquiring land for Central Park, Mewata Park, Shaganappi Park, Victoria Park and the islands in the Bow River. [2] Pearce's own recollections of his involvement in the early years of Calgary's development, written in 1916 and 1925, do not match Barraclough's statements although he gives himself full credit for the reservation of most of these parks and the islands. [3] For example:

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[1] M.L. Foran, *Calgary: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., and National Museums of Canada, 1978), pp. 11-12.
[2] M. Barraclough, *From Prairie to Park: Green Spaces in Calgary* (Calgary: Century Calgary Publications, 1975), pp. 4-5, 19.
[3] William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f83 29 November 1916; W. Pearce, "The Reservation of Land at Calgary," *Alberta History* 27 (Summer 1979): 24-26 [reprint of 1925 article].

Figure 3
Calgary

The island parks - "on my recommendation these islands were held in reserve."[4]

Shaganappi Park - "I recommended the reservation of the south half of Section 18-24-1-W5th as a reservoir and park site." [5]

Mewata Park - "When Section 16 was subdivided into lots in the winter of 1883-84, I succeeded in having what is now Mewata Park reserved." [6]

Victoria Park - when certain individuals in Calgary who were interested in agricultural matters applied for land "the matter was referred to me by the Deputy Minister of the Interior, and after considerable discussion it was decided to grant them what is now Victoria Park." [7]

Central Park - Pearce does not credit himself with having any involvement, but rather describes the wrangling between the Corporation of Calgary and the townsite trustees over the payment of taxes, with the result being an agreement about when the trustees would begin paying taxes, with the townsite trustees conveying the block of land now known as Central Park to the Corporation.; [8]

From the City correspondence and other documents in the Pearce collection, corroboration can be found for the acquisition of Central Park and the islands. However, the City records suggest that the impetus for the reservation of the islands came from Town Council as it requested to use the islands in the river for a park. [9] William Pearce supported the request when the Department of the Interior asked for his opinion. This resulted, after a period of negotiation, in a lease being issued. [10] Thus, seven years after Calgary was incorporated, the town had to five sites for parks, at limited expense other than time and legal

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[4]Pearce, p. 24.
[5]Ibid., pp. 24-25.
[6]Ibid., p. 25.
[7]Ibid., p. 26.
[8]Ibid.
[9]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 26 November 1887.
[10]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 26 November 1887;
William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f91, 24 December 1887, 3 January 1888, 14 March 1888, 11 May 1888, 3 April 1889;
Calgary Weekly Herald, 10 April 1889;
City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 30 April 1889, 26 August 1890;
William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f91, 5 February 1891.

costs.

Residents of Calgary promoted incorporation to create the "Corporation of Calgary" very soon after the establishment of the townsite by the C.P.R. Foran considers that incorporation was a very "pragmatic issue." [11] Funds to promote essential services could now be raised by taxation - from a tax base composed of a considerable amount of land controlled by the C.P.R. and the Canadian North West Land Company. The problems encountered in Regina where the taxable land base was very limited do not appear to have been evident in Calgary.

In addition to the park lands reserved by the Dominion Government with little cost to the Corporation of Calgary, the town and the local newspaper, the *Calgary Weekly Herald*, encouraged the efforts of the C.P.R. to provide a park at the railway station. In 1889, the newspaper argued that the park would be an asset to the town's residents and an advertisement of the attributes of the town and the region:

> It is very evident that the proposed garden will greatly beautify the town and supply a pleasant resort to our townspeople. It would be, however, as an advertisement for this country that the garden would be principally advantageous. It is very evident that a glimpse of Alberta Agriculture showing the unequalled fruitfulness of the soil would at once impress a stranger in town. [12]

Progress was not swift. Four years later, after the city had agreed to supply water if the C.P.R. would establish and maintain the park, Council was still requesting the C.P.R. to complete the ornamental park. [13] When C.P.R. President Van Horne stopped briefly in the town, Councillor Orr "pressed upon the notice of the President the importance of at once proceeding with the work of beautifying the railway parks." The results of the meeting were reported as being "highly satisfactory" with agreement that the railway would provide an engineer, a gardener, flowers, fencing, trees and fountains. [14]

The meeting, itself, may have been satisfactory but there were few results. Seven years later the City of Calgary was reminding the C.P.R. of Van Horne's promises, noting that the

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[11]Foran, p. 32.
[12]*Calgary Weekly Herald*, 1 May 1889, p. 4.
[13]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 6 October 1891, 5 April 1892, 3 May 1893.
[14]*Calgary Weekly Herald*, 23 May 1893, p. 8.

C.P.R. had begun some of the work in the past year, but urging it to "show the citizens by actual work that it is their intention to beautify the park and commence to do now what should have been done years ago." [15] Sporadic progress occurred over the next years as the C.P.R. worked slowly on the park. [16]

Calgary became a city in 1894, but few substantial efforts to manage or plan the city's park system occurred until the late 1900's, although on a few occasions the idea was mentioned. One example of such an effort was the statement by an unsuccessful mayoralty candidate in 1906 that funds should be spent on "improving and beautifying the parks we now have." However, little came of such rhetoric. [17]

In 1906 Frederick G. Todd, landscape architect of Montreal, contacted the Mayor soliciting work. "If your city is contemplating any park work and requires any plans or professional advice in regard to them, I would be glad to attend to such matters on my trip west." [18] Todd stopped in Calgary for discussions as he travelled between jobs in Regina and Edmonton. Todd returned to Montreal under the impression that he had been commissioned to prepare general plans for West End (Mewata) Park and Victoria Park for $275 plus expenses. Four months later he requested some background materials and was informed that "Council have made no move so far in reference to the proposed plans of the Park and from present indications there does not seem to be much of a hurry about it." [19] When he inquired after another seven months, he was informed "that the City Council have not come to any decision whatever . . . and so far as I can see, they are not likely to this year." [20] Todd was not pleased and sent the City his bill for expenses, which they paid. [21] Instead of getting two plans and paying $275 plus expenses, they got no plans and paid $86.35.

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[15]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f60 13 June 1900.
[16]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 27 June 1901, 16 July 1903; City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f103 27 June 1901; City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f82 11 June 1903, 10 July 1903, 16 July 1903.
[17]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 22 November 1906.
[18]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f151 17 October 1906.
[19]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f175 18 March 1907.
[20]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f175 24 October 1907.
[21]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f175 28 October 1907.

In 1909 Mr. Todd applied to draw up plans for the newly appointed Parks Comission, noting his familiarity with the west and his ability to use his knowledge of Calgary, perhaps attempting to recoup his lost plans of 1907. "When in Calgary two years ago I took sufficient notes that I think I could do my necesary work without another visit unless I should happen to be in the vicinity or you have new parks." [22] His offer was refused. [23]

Park Management

Concerted efforts to manage and upgrade the park system in Calgary began in 1909 with the establishment of the Calgary Parks Commission. While in other cities in the study it is possible to find, through Council minutes and files or through newspaper reports, an individual or an event which acted as a catalyst and contributed to Council's decision to appoint a Parks Commission, such did not seem to be the case in Calgary. Even though the Canadian social reformer, J.J. Kelso, who was a high profile advocate of playgrounds and parks, was speaking at the Canadian Club at noon on the same day that the motion establishing the Commission was passed at City Council, there are no references which would suggest that there was a link between the two events. [24]

On February 15, 1909, Council passed a motion that a Parks Commission be established; and it appointed the members one month later. [25] Members of what was then called the Board of Parks Commissioners, or Parks Board, were J. Niblock, who had been involved in the efforts to establish a garden at the C.P.R. station and A.M. Terril, a Board of Trade member who was involved in advocating parks and beautification in Calgary. The *Calgary Daily Herald* described them as men who "are well acquainted with the subject they have in hand" and "as business men and practical men in the art of assisting bountiful nature in her work of making Calgary the beauty spot which it should be." [26]

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[22]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f321 7 April 1909.
[23]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f321 6 May 1909.
[24]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 15 February 1909.
[25]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 15 February 1909, 16 March 1909.
[26]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 24 March 1909, p. 6.

Council and the Commissioners were approached by groups interested in improving the park and playground opportunities in Calgary soon after the Parks Board was created. The first group, a delegation from the Men's Educational Club, headed by Dr. Scott of the School Board, was engaged in promoting the development of spaces:

> Where children and youth may meet in large gatherings to contest in games and engage in play under the supervision of teachers or others interested in physical welfare of the young. [27]

By the time that this delegation met with the Parks Commisson, the proposal was refined from the broad "development of spaces for games and play" to a much less comprehensive project at one park - "the fitting up of Mewata Park for athletic sports" with "sufficient desirable space for a children's playground." [28] The Commissioners then agreed to look at this site as part of their work.

The work of the second delegation, from the Board of Trade, resulted in more action from the Parks Board. The Board of Trade brought forward a resolution which included most of the contemporary rhetoric about the health and economic benefits of parks and playgrounds:

> WHEREAS it is expedient that all cities be well supplied with Parks and Play-grounds as such places are conducive to the welfare and health of a city.
>
> AND WHEREAS there are in existence in the different parts of this city, a number of vacant properties that could be advantageously used as parks and play-grounds.
>
> AND WHEREAS owing to the rapid development of the city these properties will eventually increase in value and price.
>
> THEREFORE it is Resolved that the Calgary Board of Trade memorialize the Mayor and Council of the City of Calgary to proceed immediately and secure a number of vacant properties, referred to elsewhere in this resolution, and cause same to be made into park and recreation grounds. [29]

The resolution listed six "desirable locations" for park sites.

Council's response to this resolution was to appoint a "Special Committee on Park and Playground Sites." Over the next four months the committee met, first recommending that information be obtained about the six sites indicated by the Board of Trade, together with three other playgrounds and six other parks; [30] then adding two more park sites to the

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[27]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f322 27 March 1909.
[28]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 28 April 1909, p. 1.
[29]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f236 30 June 1909.
[30]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f227 30 July 1909.

list; [31] and finally recommending that 100 acres that were being offered to them by Messrs. Shouldice and McKay be acquired, and that a further 2 1/2 Blocks in Section 16 be acquired through purchase and expropriation. The recommendation was approved by Council. [32] However, the final report included none of the properties recommended by the Board of Trade or originally investigated by the Special Committee, but instead included properties offered by land owners during the Committee's deliberations.

The creation of a Special Committee to deal with planning issues was an administrative tool used several times in Calgary. The Parks Board itself dealt with management, but when there was a planning issue, a special committee was formed to deal with it. This occurred, not only in 1909, but also in 1912 and 1913.

The groups approaching the Parks Board and Council, and later the Special Committees, were aided in their rhetoric extolling parks and playgrounds by the *Calgary Daily Herald* which contributed many editorials, from which the following are excerpts, in support of the cause:

> To make the city a place of beauty, to provide open spaces and playgrounds for the children . . . is indeed a sphere of activity in which any citizen may be well proud to bear a part. [33]
>
> More recreation grounds, for old and young, are required in order that there will be a chance for all to get the benefit of athletic exercise. [34]
>
> What is required are playgrounds where the children can have all the joys of their youthful hearts. [35]
>
> The organizing of playgrounds and fresh air spaces is a benefaction worthy of the best efforts of some of our wealthy citizens. [36]
>
> There is something about a playgrounds proposition that appeals to every well-regulated man. The youngsters cannot urge their own claims, yet we know that in looking after them, in helping them to develop their bodies, in adding healthy recreation to their lives we are really building up the manhood and womanhood of our country. [37]

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[31]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f227 9 September 1909.
[32]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f227 11 October 1909; City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 11 October 1909.
[33]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 31 March 1909, p. 4.
[34]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 14 June 1909, p. 11.
[35]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 17 June 1909, p. 4.
[36]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 2 July 1909, p. 4.
[37]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 8 July 1909, p. 4.

> Now is the time when parks and playgrounds should be bought and laid out. Never again will they be so cheap. [38]

> Calgary will, in time, require all the park accommodation which it can get. The present is undoubtedly the time to secure the ground. [39]

Not only was it considered necessary for Calgary to develop a park system for the benefit of its residents, it was necessary for its booster efforts. The *Calgary Herald* reminded the decision makers that Regina was attempting to create a Parks Board and that Winnipeg already had a successful model. [40] Given that Calgary had a Parks Board it was now time to do some work on its parks system. But the Special Committee recommended, not a system but only the property offered by Shouldice and MacKay plus the extra 2 1/2 blocks.

The combined efforts of William Pearce and the Calgary Horticultural Society brought the issue of the planning and acquisition of parks and playgrounds to the attention of Calgarians throughout 1910. Mr Pearce began to address the notion of a scheme of parks in Calgary a year earlier, in mid 1909, encouraging the Parks Board to take actions "which could now be carried out comparatively cheaply which would add a great deal to Calgary as a residential place and particularly so in making it a rendezvous for tourists." [41] However, his accompanying offer to work on a parks scheme for Calgary was not accepted by the Parks Comissioners. [42] Undaunted by the refusal, Mr. Pearce put forth more proposals to the mayor later that year. [43] The mayor responded not only that the Parks Board might be replaced by the paid Commissioners, but also that the City was being offered a number of parcels of land (presumably negating the need for planning) and "the City will not be required to expend very much money for park sites or breathing spaces." [44]

Having failed in his approaches to the Parks Board and the Mayor, Pearce broadened his approach, communicating not only with the Mayor, but also urging the Calgary Horticultural Society to take up the cause of promoting the planning and acquisition of parks

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[38] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 August 1909, p. 4.
[39] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 14 September 1909, p. 4.
[40] Ibid.
[41] City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f322 4 August 1909.
[42] City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f322 19 August 1909.
[43] City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f324 27 December 1909.
[44] City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f324 30 December 1909.

and playgrounds. [45] Pearce's new course of action was to work behind the scenes, requesting that the Rev. Dean Paget and the Horticultural Society engage in action "so long as my name is not brought out". Because he was "an official of the Canadian Pacific Railway being thereby debarred from going into any agitation," he was unwilling to act publicly, preferring, instead, that "a few men . . . would take hold and start an agitation with the co-operation of the Horticultural Society" for the betterment of Calgary. [46] The agitation was manifested through addresses at the Horticultural Society meetings, support from the Horticultural Society for the Parks Board, talks sponsored by the Society throughout Calgary and even a Society-sponsored sale of garden tools for children.

Dean Paget began the agitation with an address, "Green Spots for Calgary," extolling the attributes of cities with park systems and noting that "the people of Calgary should not be behind the people of any city in this matter." [47] In addition to supporting municipal parks, the Society sponsored a workingman's garden competition. The Horticultural Society followed Dean Paget's address with support for the Parks Board, recommending that the city "acquire ere the price becomes prohibitive, a sufficient number of parcels of land right in the city itself to be converted into green, restful spots" and calling for a comprehensive scheme for parks and boulevards and an expert landscape architect. [48] Having produced these exhortations to its members and the elected and appointed officials, the Horticultural Society then appealed to residents at large, particularly the children, in addresses at several Calgary churches. At Sunday School services in most of the churches on Sunday, April 3rd, 1910, members of the Horticultural Society gave addresses with themes such as: "a beautiful city of beautiful homes, and the children's part in making the home beautiful;" "the sign of grace and health that comes from living in the open in the midst of beautiful flowers;" "the effect of the beautiful on character;" and "play-grounds and the days when there would be no vacant spaces in Calgary on which to play." The day after the addresses at Sunday Schools, members of the Horticultural Society sold sets of garden tools at a reduced cost to children and gave

[45]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f324 21 January 1910.
[46]William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f87.1 21 January 1910.
[47]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 2 March 1910.
[48]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 14 March 1910, p. 1.

out information about seeds and plants. [49]

Behind the scenes, Mr Pearce, Rev. Dean Paget and others formed the "joint committee consisting of members of the Horticultural Society and outsiders, having in view the creating of public opinion towards the obtainment and preservation of play grounds and parks." [50] Mr Pearce seems to have been the driving force behind this group, as indicated by his early urging that the Horticultural Society take up the cause and, most importantly, by his preparation of proposals for the group to discuss, followed by his writing of proposals to be put forward on behalf of the committee: "I thought it well, therefore, to draw up a letter to be signed by Mr. Tregillis, the chairman, or convenor of the joint committee . . . and enclose it herewith." [51] The fate of the prepared letter and the proposal from the joint committee (i.e. William Pearce) is not known. No mention of this joint committee or its proposals appears in the files or minutes of either the Parks Board or City Council.

At the same time, in April and May, 1910, Council and the Parks Board with the assistance of the *Calgary Daily Herald*, were attempting to convince Calgarians to vote for a $93,000 bylaw for park improvements, with most of the money ($77,000) slated for St. George's Island. But even the support of the newspaper's editorial column did not prevent the bylaw from being defeated. [52] The promoters of the bylaw retrenched and returned with a "sweeping and enthusiatic park policy" and a campaign for park education which included speeches promoting the $100,000 bylaw in all parts of the city in the week before the vote. [53] The campaign of meetings was supplemented by support from the Horticultural Society. [54] There was even an address from the pulpit by the minister of the Central Methodist Church.[55] The *Calgary Daily Herald* not only promoted and reported on all the meetings, but

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[49]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 26 March 1910, 4 April 1910.
[50]William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f87.1 7 April 1910.
[51]William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f87.1 7 April 1910, and 3 May 1910.
[52]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 22 April 1910, p. 4, 4 May 1910, p. 4.
[53]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 9 August 1910, p. 14, 16 August 1910, p. 1, 25 August 1910, p. 1, 6 September 1910, p. 1, 7 September 1910, p. 1, 8 September 1910, p. 1, 9 September 1910, p. 1, 10 September 1910, p. 1, 12 September 1910, p. 3, 13 September 1910, p. 1, 14 September 1910, p. 3, 15 September 1910, p. 3.
[54]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 7 September 1910, p. 1.
[55]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 12 September 1910, p. 3.

also provided editorial support both before the vote and, in defeat, noted that "Curious Criticisms Defeat Bylaw." Heading the list of these "curious criticisms" were the objections of residents of some parts of the city that their areas were not receiving enough funding. [56]

After its informative but unsuccessful park education campaign, the Parks Board proposed changes to its selection and funding procedures. The preliminary report in October 1910 recommended that the Board members be elected, but the final recommendation was that the six member board be appointed with terms of varying length to allow for continuity from year to year. [57] Also, it was recommended that City Council levy a "special rate to furnish the amount estimated by the Board to be required for the year, such rate not to exceed three-quarters of a mill in the dollar." [58] Council approved both changes despite arguments that this was giving too much power to an appointed (not elected) Board over which council might not have control. [59] These arguments were very similar to the ones that had defeated the Parks Board proposal in Regina a year before, in 1909. However, they were not successful in Calgary. In 1910, Calgary's City Charter was amended to give Council the authority to appoint a Parks Board. [60] This Parks Board legislation was similar to that of Saskatoon, in that it was specific to one city and not to be applied to the province in general, as in Manitoba.

This change was considered a major one, as the Parks Board Annual Report for 1910 proudly announced that it had abolished the old system of one year appointments, "providing for the appointment of the Parks Board on a more permanent basis, so that a deeper interest might be evinced in the Parks Proposition and a continuity of policy maintained." [61] The new method of selecting Board members was also extended to having the members represent

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[56]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 10 August 1910, p. 6, 16 August 1910, p. 6, 23 August 1910, p. 6, 26 August 1910, p. 6, 3 September 1910, p. 6, 7 September 1910, p. 6, 16 September 1910, p. 6.
[57]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 October 1910, p. 1.
[58]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f303 19 October 1910.
[59]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 28 October 1910, p. 3, 8 November 1910, p. 1;
[60]*Statutes of Albert, 1910*, ch. 28, sec. 7.
[61]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f416, Annual Report of the Parks Department, 1910, p. 5d.

different sections of the city.[42]

The reconstituted Board proceeded with business and even survived a challenge from a councillor that "their system was out of gear and that the manner in which they spend their money is not in keeping with the best interest of the city," followed by a motion to abolish the Board. [43] Council's Legislative Committee recommended "that it was not advisable to interfere with the work of the Parks Board" but did suggest that they might improve their administration in the future. [44]

Not only was the Parks Board frequently involved in changing its structure, seemingly with a lack of continuity, the position of Parks Superintendent was frequently in a state of flux due to resignations and new appointments. The first Park Superintendent, Mr. M. Chestnut from Picton, Ontario, worked for the newly appointed Parks Commission for ten months from April 1909 to early 1910. [45] His successor, J.A. Buchanan of the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph, who was preceded by glowing references from people in both Calgary and Ontario, arrived in June 1910. He was described as an "energetic and progressive young man," but he left after nine months, in February 1911, when he received a better offer in Eastern Canada. [46] Buchanan's contributions had included engineering the 1910 Park Education campaign, which, although unsuccessful in terms of getting the bylaw passed, had stirred public opinion about parks.

After two appointments which each lasted a short time, the City began yet another search - this time reportedly "the preference will be given to a man who has lived for at least a year or so in the west, so that he will have knowledge of the country and of the trees

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[42]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 January 1911, p. 6;
City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 9 January 1911.
[43]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 16 July 1911;
Calgary Daily Herald, 25 July 1911.
[44]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 18 August 1911.
[45]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f321 5 April 1909;
City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 5 April 1909.
[46]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f323 12 March 1910, 21 March 1910, 13 April 1910, 12 May 1910;
City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 11 May 1910;
Calgary Daily Herald, 13 April 1910, p. 1, 22 June 1910, p. 1, 12 July 1910, p. 3, 17 February 1911, p. 1.

peculiar to the west." [67] The new superintendent did not all the criteria. Council appointed Richard Iwerson of Medford, Massachusetts as Parks Superintendent, with Archie Mitchell of the Forestry Farm at Indian Head, Saskatchewan, as Consulting Superintendent. [68] Mr. Mitchell's duties were limited to those of an advisory nature as he corresponded with and met with the Parks Board periodically.

Iwerson's appointment lasted for two years and was, at times, stormy. The first year went smoothly. [69] He was authorized to use his skills not only for the City, but also in assisting private individuals and the town of Red Deer with their beautification efforts. [70] As well, the Parks Bylaw for funding improvements was finally passed. [71] However, in May 1912 a committee was formed to investigate charges of incompetence in several of the city's departments. [72] In the case of Iwerson, in addition to other matters, there was considerable questioning about the use of potatoes grown on St. George's Island, stored in Iwerson's house and supposedly distributed to the needy of the city.[73] In retrospect, this issue may have been a red herring, but it received considerable attention at the time. The investigation reported that while Iwerson was

> a first class technical expert . . . the executive work of this department should be immediately taken out of his hands and placed under more efficient control . . . the parks board has shown lack of supervision and efficient business system. [74]

The tempest of the potato patch was over. Two months later Council asked Iwerson to resign, but he was supported by the Parks Board, which had "the fullest confidence in Mr. Iwerson as a competent Landscape Architect and Horticulturalist." [75] Then, in December 1912, the Parks Board itself was abolished, thus, providing Council with its opportunity to dismiss

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[67] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 23 February 1911, p. 11.
[68] City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f386 20 March 1911.
[69] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 17 April 1911, p. 6.
[70] City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 7 August 1911; City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f386 13 September 1911.
[71] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 22 April 1911, p. 6, 25 April 1911, pp. 1,6.
[72] City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 17 May 1912.
[73] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 12 June 1912, p. 1.
[74] City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 8 July 1912; *Calgary Daily Herald*, 9 July 1912, p. 14.
[75] City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f473 13 September 1912.

Iwerson.[76] He was described as being "a total impossibility as he could not be controlled and was a very expensive man" and as not "knowing the value of money" after apparently overspending his appropriation by $30,000. [77] After a month of procedural wrangling, Iwerson, described by the *Calgary Daily Herald* as a "doughty Teuton," resigned after being offered $500 - the equivalent of three months salary. [78] Four months later Council appointed William Reader, a local horticulturalist, as parks superintendent. He remained as parks superintendent for 29 years until his retirement in 1942. [79] Calgary finally had a Westerner and a parks superintendent who stayed.

The trials of 1912 were not confined to allegations and investigations about the parks staff; the Parks Board as a whole was also under scrutiny. A series of disputes occurred between May and December 1912, amid charges made by aldermen that the Parks Board was incompetent, complaints by the Board that its functions were not clearly defined, and charges by the Parks Board Chairman that "certain aldermen . . . may be on a fishing expedition seeking to find fault with the parks board and at the same time mak[ing] political capital for the elections which will come next fall." [80] The aldermen's will prevailed. After the Board's attempt to have its duties defined more clearly were unsuccessful, the Board chairman resigned. [81] This was followed by the dissolution of the Parks Board at the last meeting of the 1912 City Council and the repeal of the section of the City Charter which had created the Board. [82]

Earlier in 1912, before the investigation committee began its work, the Parks Board had appointed a special committee "to enquire into the possibility of the City being able to

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[76]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 17 February 1913.
[77]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 25 February 1913, p. 20, 28 February 1913, p. 1.
[78]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 25 March 1913, p. 1.
[79]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 7 April 1913, 14 July 1913; City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f546 8 April 1913, 26 July 1913; Barraclough, p. 88.
[80]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 8 July 1912; *Calgary Daily Herald*, 12 June 1912, p. 1.
[81] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 1 October 1912, p. 6.
[82]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, December 1912; City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f456A 27 February 1913; *Statutes of Alberta, 1913*, ch. 27, sec. 20.

acquire open spaces in various parts of the City to be used as parks," and appointed four members. [13] This special committee, noting the enormity and importance of the task, recommended that its membership should be expanded to include other city bodies:

> a matter of this importance, which will affect not only the beauty but the future health and morality of Calgary, as well as its desirability as a place of residence should be taken up by the whole City through its authorized representatives. [14]

Statements such as the preceding one suggest that the committee also seemed to recognize and use much of the urban reform and civic booster rhetoric of the day in promoting the importance of open space on the basis of health, morality, beauty and desirability.

The Parks Board's two-member special committee was joined first by four members of Council, then by the executive of the Town Planning Commission, while its mandate was expanded to include "proposed sites for a Civic Centre and sites for play-grounds and [open] air spaces." [15] In the midst of the committee's deliberations, William Pearce involved himself once again. The following extracts from his letters give some insight into Pearce's efforts, his means of operating and the committee's reaction. Pearce first suggested that a survey be made "of all possible park reservations within or adjoining the City of Calgary" and proposed his son, Seabury, for the task, which would ensure that Pearce's input would continue:

> One reason why I should like him to do it is I think I could control him as to the selection of the grounds and the data necessary to be acquired, better than I could probably any other surveyor, and I think my assistance in a case of this kind would be of considerable value to the City of Calgary, and I would furnish my services gratis. [16]

The Parks Board was not as impressed as Pearce had hoped:

> Many members of the Board thought it was nonsense to have the survey and plan prepared, that all that was necessary was to have a competent man on the ground and he could point out exactly what lands he wanted and thus save the expense of the survey and preparation of the plans. [17]

After three months of investigating and inspecting, the committee, which had been charged with a rather grand mission, produced a less than grand recommendation - that there

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[13]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f473 8 May 1912.
[14]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f473 23 May 1912.
[15]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 17 June 1912, 24 June 1912; City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f473 25 June 1912.
[16]William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f518 22 July 1912.
[17]William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f518 20 August 1912.

be no action:

> your committee have arrived at the conclusion that the time is inopportune, owing to the present financial conditions, for the purchasing of any of these properties, and would recommend that the matter be taken up again at as early a date as conditions warrant. [11]

This recommendation came in the midst of attempts to abolish the Parks Board, to fire Iwerson and to hire Thomas Mawson as an expert planner for the City.

After it had dissolved the Parks Board, Council created a Special Recreation and Playgrounds Committee whose duties, although somewhat undefined, seem to have included making recommendations for land acquisition; but the committee was mainly concerned with the operation and maintenance of playing fields for various sport groups and occasional concerns with children's playgrounds. [12] In addition to those playing field and playground duties, Council contributed to the operation of the Vacant Lots Garden Club. The Club used city land and arranged to have the Parks Department cultivate the land. [13] After three years of operation the Club was described as "rapidly transforming Calgary into a city of smiling gardens." [91] The Club operated throughout the remainder of the study period and, in 1929, reported having 1168 members using about 2600 lots. [92]

Land Acquisition and Disposition

The reservation and acquisition of Calgary's early parks has been dealt with in an earlier section. These parks - Central, Shaganappi, Victoria, Mewata and the Bow River Islands - were acquired in the early years of Calgary's development. From 1909 to 1920, although some planning was required to select the park sites, little was done in terms of a deliberate planning and selection strategy. With the exception of Shouldice Park, which was offered at the time that City had a special committee charged with recommending park and

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[11]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f459 30 September 1912.
[12]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f561 1913;
City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f668 1914, Minutes of the Recreation and Playgrounds Committee.
[13]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 14 March 1914.
[91]City of Calgary, *Municipal Manual*, 1917, p. 88.
[92]City of Calgary, *Municipal Manual*, 1930, p. 57.

playground sites, the parks were offered by their owners, donated or purchased with no reference to a concerted planning effort. Most of the parks acquired after 1920 were the result of land passing to the city because of arrears in the payment of taxes.

Shouldice Park and Bowness Park were both part of deals involving street railways to outlying districts. Shouldice Park was donated to the city in exchange for the city's extending a street railway line outside the city limits to a subdivision called Shouldice Terrace. [93] The land in Bowness Park was donated by J. Hextall in exchange for a street railway line to Bowness. The residential area did not develop as Hextall had hoped; however, the park became an attraction and a traffic generator. The Street Railway Department saw the park as a source of revenue and recommended that it:

> be turned over to the Street Railway Department so that it could be improved at small expense and summer attractions provided by the Railway. This would create traffic and fill a long felt public want. [94]

This transfer of operational responsibilities took place in 1917. [95]

Other parks were acquired in different ways. Two parks were donated - Riley Park in 1910, and Tompkins Square in 1915. [96] Tuxedo Park was acquired through "arrangements" with a developer, Canadian Estates Company, in 1911. [97] Elboya Park was accepted in 1914 from a land company in exchange for rebating two year's taxes. [98] Hillhurst Park, was purchased from E.H. Riley in 1915. [99] The Canadian Pacific Railway transferred small parks

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[93]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f322 13 August 1909;
Glenbow Alberta Institute Archives, City of Calgary Papers, f150;
Calgary Daily Herald, 10 September 1909, p. 1;
Foran, p. 96.
[94]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, January 1915, p. 17 - City of Calgary, Annual Report of Public Utilities for 1914.
[95]Barraclough, p. 50.
[96]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 4 May 1910, 18 May 1910;
Barraclough, p. 26.
City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 16 August 1915, 17 September 1915.
[97]Barraclough, p. 28.
[98]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 30 January 1914, 25 March 1914, 24 April 1914.
[99]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f561 26 May 1913;
City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f618 16 October 1913;
City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f668 13 May 1914;
City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 21 April 1915.

in Bridgeland, Sunalta and South Mt. Royal in 1916.[100]

The most controversial land disposition occurred when Council decided in 1913 that Mewata Park would be the site of the armoury. [101] Local citizens, the *Calgary Daily Herald*, and some aldermen were opposed to this action. [102] When their efforts within Calgary did not succeed, they shifted their efforts to the provincial legislature in Edmonton, in a successful attempt to defeat the bill to allow the City to transfer part of the park to the Dominion Government. [103] Their petition, with 1347 signatures, was based "on the ground that Mewata Park was originally deeded to the City in trust for park purposes only, and is more needed for the purposes of a park than for the purposes of an armoury." [104] The defeat of the bill was a minor setback to those promoting the armoury at Mewata. The armoury was built. Among the arguments for the armoury were that it "would be a credit to any city in America," its recreation facilities "would prove to be of inestimable value and benefit to the young men of this city," and, of course, the construction "would mean the employment of a large number of men immediately which is a point to be considered," and "the delay bound to occur in the raising of the money to purchase the other only available site might delay the erection of the Armoury indefinitely." [105] Council paid heed to economic and political arguments, rather than the arguments being used favoring recreation use of the land.

Attempts were also made during this period to legislate the dedication of park land in subdivisions. At the height of the development boom in Calgary in 1910, Council adopted a report from its Bylaws and Legislation Committee which would require subdivisions to donate 1/10 of their property. The Committee recommended that:

> The City Solicitor be asked to prepare legislation to enable the city to compel owners of subdivisions to donate one tenth of their property for park purposes subject to the City being obligated to spend an amount on improving such park sites equal to what would have been raised by taxing the land value of the park sites at proper valuation,

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[100]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 2 September 1916.
[101]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 15 March 1913, 18 March 1913.
[102]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 25 March 1913, August through October 1913.
[103]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f618 27 October 1913.
[104]Provincial Archives of Alberta, 76.277 f1.
[105]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f652 1914.

> and subject to small subdivisions adding their 10 % to the middle of the streets or for school sites. [106]

In the midst of the debate over the $93,000 Parks Bylaw discussed earlier, this proposal was discussed in the press only to a limited degree. The *Calgary Daily Herald* supported the idea because:

> the increase in value of the property surrounding the park and of the property in the entire subdivision will often entirely make up the value of the property granted. In any event, the cession of 10 per cent to the city means at the most a slight readjustment in the original price of lots which would be insignificant compared with the value of the park to the public at large. [107]

When the proposal was discussed again in 1911, the reaction of the real estate men was mixed. One felt that this was "merely confiscation of a man's property." Another felt that "it's a good thing. The value of the subdivision is increased to a certain extent." Another lamented the tardiness of the proposal "Calgary is five years behind the times in this respect . . . This provision for parks should have been made years ago." [108] Notwithstanding the realtors' consent or objections, a five percent dedication was finally required if a subdivision within Calgary was to be approved. [109] It may, however, have been too late for most subdivisions within the city limits.

Park Planning

Comprehensive park planning in Calgary was carried out, for the most part, without the assistance of an outside expert planner. Special committees of Council or of the Parks Board charged with finding sites for various kinds of open space were established in 1909, 1912 and 1913, with limited success. Frederick G. Todd did some preliminary work on two site plans in 1906, but these were not completed. William Pearce offered both land and ideas for organization and park reservations, beginning in 1883, but in a concerted effort from 1909 to 1913. Pearce's behind-the-scenes exhortations and manipulations promoting beautification and breathing spaces may have been a key factor in promoting planning, but they often met

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[106]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 22 April 1910.
[107]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 18 April 1910, p. 6.
[108]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 11 January 1911, pp. 1,13.
[109]Barraclough, p. 12.

resistance from Parks Board members whom he felt "had no experience in such matters." [110]

In 1913, Thomas Mawson was commissioned to prepare a preliminary plan for Calgary, including locating "a system of children's playgrounds, parks, gardens and riverside walks." [111] The final document, which arrived from the consultant in April 1914 as economic conditions declined, contained a major section, "The Civic Life," which considered civic buildings and "Parks, Public Gardens and Playgrounds." The most significant recommendation was for the need to deal with a complete park system including land on the banks of the rivers, the steep sides of the bluffs, smaller recreation grounds, with some landscaping, for games, and pleasure promenades, together with a series of small social centers with assembly rooms, branch library and recreation and sport facilities. [112] The Mawson Plan, with its grand marble civic center, was filed for future reference, a future which did not bring it out for public viewing until 65 years later, in 1979. [113]

Between 1914 and 1930, several parcels of land were acquired for park purposes. However, little was done to plan for their acquisition in a comprehensive way. As in other cities, the City of Calgary became the owner of many properties when municipal taxes were not paid. The city began to reserve some of these lands for park purposes in the early 1920's; when Council decided that:

> such properties in the inner area as in the opinion of the Council shall be retained for parks, streets and boulevards and such other purposes the City may decide upon, should be withdrawn from sale. [114]

The time was considered "opportune" to reserve lands as they came available. [115]

When the City became a major land owner, it was finally in a position to be able to plan and control the development of parks and playgrounds. [116] This power resulted in the

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[110]William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f518 20 August 1912.
[111]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 20 January 1913.
[112]T.H. Mawson, *Calgary - A Preliminary Scheme for Controlling the Economic Growth of the City* (Calgary: City Planning Commission, 1914), pp. 37-51.
[113]E.J. Morrow, "*Calgary, Many Years Hence-The Mawson Plan in Perspective*" (Calgary: City of Calgary and University of Calgary, 1979).
[114]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 3 October 1922, citing Land Regulations.
[115]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f1218, Annual Report of the Parks Department, 1922.
[116]"Calgary," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, December 1927, p. 205.

following additions to the City's park system: 1923, 2 sites (15.54 acres); 1924, 12 sites (109 acres); 1926, 1 site (1.19 acres); 1927, 2 sites (5+ acres); 1928, 4 sites; and 1929, 2 sites. In his *Annual Report* of 1926, the Parks Superintendent reported that:

> due to the fact that advantage was taken of opportune conditions more has been done towards the establishment of a real park system in the last two or three years than in all former years of the city's history. Much new land has been added to the system. [117]

The report may seem rather self-congratulatory. But, in terms of the numbers of sites and their distribution throughout the districts, the parks superintendent was correct. [118] While long range planning and the work of the special committees were not overly sucessful, the use of tax sale land was. Of the 35 park and playground sites in Calgary in 1927, 17 had been acquired in the 1923-27 period. While not all sites were on tax default land, those sites did contribute substantially to the park land inventory.

Playgrounds

The efforts of several interest groups to promote the establishment of locations for playgrounds in Calgary has been documented earlier in this discussion. The most articulate groups were the Men's Educational Club and the Board of Trade. Very soon after the Special Committee on Parks and Playgrounds had been established, the *Calgary Daily Herald* relayed reports from the third annual congress of the Playgrounds Association of America (P.A.A.) in Pittsburgh. The reports included exhortative rhetoric supporting the playgrounds movement by the U.S. President Taft and the following excerpt from an address by Dr. Luther Gulick, President of the P.A.A.:

> One of the ways by which a town or city may contribute directly to the municipal well-being as well as to the happiness of its people, young and older, is by providing them with proper means for open air exercise, recreation and play. This is one of the modern tendencies for social services. [119]

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[117]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f1323.
[118]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f1410, Annual Report of the Parks Department, 1927.
[119]*Calgary Daily Herald* 7 July 1909, p. 4. and 8 July 1909, p. 6.

The *Calgary Daily Herald* promoted playgrounds as places "where the children can have all the joys of their youthful hearts" and urged the City to take action early as a hedge against cost increases because "it is being done in the larger cities now, when land has become dear, but if provision was made now the expense of future investment would be guarded against." [120] The newspaper not only proposed that there should be playgrounds, but also suggested a way of funding them:

> Perhaps it would be possible to form a 'Playground Trust' which would handle the finances of the scheme in the meantime and turn the property over to the city at some later date. The organizing of playgrounds and fresh air spaces is a benefaction worthy [of] the best efforts of some of our wealthy citizens. [121]

> In other cities "playground associations" are being formed and subscriptions taken. This is in line with the Herald's suggestion that there might be a playground or park trust formed which could finance the scheme until relieved of the responsibility by public effort or by civic action. [122]

While no action was taken to form a playground trust or a playground association, early efforts resulted in there being some playground space in parks. The most developed playground was established in the park on St. George's Island, in August 1911, two years after the *Daily Herald's* editorials about playgrounds. [123] The reports from the park superintendent noted that "it has rarely been my good fortune to see such a crowd of thoroughly satisfied and happy adults and children, as on the day when this was thrown open for use." [124]

In addition to the *Daily Herald*'s promotion of playgrounds and a playground association or playground trust, some assistance came from other groups and individuals as noted earlier. However, nothing was done to implement supervised playgrounds until 1917. The Children's Aid Society had proposed supervised playgrounds at three locations in 1912, to give "the youth of our city the fullest opportunity for healthful recreation" including opportunities that would lead to making "children strong and law-abiding;" [125] but the

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[120] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 17 June 1909, p. 4.
[121] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 2 July 1909, p. 4.
[122] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 August 1909, p. 4.
[123] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 7 August 1911.
[124] City of Calgary, RGA 23, Annual Report of the Parks Department, 1911, p. 2.
[125] City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f627 16 February 1912.

Society's request was not agreed to and was filed. [126] The *Calgary Daily Herald* continued its occasional advocacy noting that "a healthy child is a cheap child to raise." [127] For four years, between 1913 and 1916, the Parks Superintent's *Annual Reports*, contained a recommendation that there be trained supervisors on the playgrounds. His recommendation included the following rationale:

> At times more children attend the playgrounds than the apparatus will accommodate and the disparity in ages and sexes leaves too much license for the selfish and thoughtless to take advantage of the weaker and more timid ones, though it is these latter that most need the benefit of the playgrounds. Without supervision these playgrounds are liable to become harmful rather than beneficial. [128]

The Park Superintendent's interest in playgrounds and his expressed opinion that "playgrounds form a natural part of Park development and are essentially a branch of park work" present an opinion different from that traditionally attributed to park superintendents, who were thought more likely to object to the intense use of park land for children's play areas. [129]

In 1917, eight years after the *Calgary Daily Herald* began promoting playgrounds, the following question was brought up at Council: "What is to be done for the children this summer along the line of supervised playgrounds?" [130] Council's response was that it was "considering the suggestion made by a committee representing the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) and the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) that specially trained attendants be placed in charge of the playgrounds." [131]

By July, supervised playgrounds were operating, with the physical directors of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. in charge. Both of these individuals had previously been in charge of playgrounds in Pueblo, Colorado. Apparently a course on supervised play had been offered by the Y.M.C.A. during the previous winter; and the staff members in charge of the

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[126] City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f627 20 February 1912.
[127] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 8 July 1912.
[128] City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f 829, Annual Report of the Parks Department, 1916.
[129] Ibid. and
E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/ Recreation Association, 1970), p. 16.
[130] City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 19 February 1917.
[131] Ibid.

various playgrounds were teachers or graduates of that course. While there had been a low key, on-going advocacy for supervised playgrounds in Calgary, it appears that the arrival in the city of the physical directors of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., who had experience in playground work and who had worked together before, was the catalyst contributing to the implementation of the program that previously had been "wishful dreaming."

The Calgary Playgrounds Association was formed in 1917. It acted in an "advisory capacity" to the City Parks Department, which "provided, controlled, maintained and financed the playgrounds." [132] Funds were provided by the Parks Department to pay for the salaries of the playground supervisors. A slight change in the administrative responsibilities occurred in 1920 as "supervision of the City Play-Grounds [was] undertaken by the City Commissioners through the Parks Department." [133] From 1920 to 1929 (except in 1921), the city funded supervised playgrounds in at least seven locations. In most years, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. provided supervisory assistance and swimming instruction. [134]

The Calgary Council of Women, the local chapter of the national body that promoted supervised playgrounds in many Canadian cities, did not play an active role in providing playgrounds in Calgary. The Council reported to its members on the status of playgrounds in Calgary, advocated supervision and occasionally provided funding from a Tag Day. [135] The Calgary Council of Women's most intense lobbying was in support of providing a playground in the Mills Estate development in 1928. [136] Its efforts met with some success as City Council considered the matter worthy of referral to the Parks Department "to consider in their 1929 estimate." [137] However, little happened after this referral.

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[132]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f991A, Annual Report of the Parks Department, 1919, p. 7.
[133]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 23 March 1920.
[134]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f1087, f1129, f1218, f1262, f1323, f1410, f1440, Annual Reports of the Parks Department, 1920 to 1929.
[135]Calgary Council of Women, Minutes, 20 January 1922, 19 January 1923, 24 January 1924.
[136]Calgary Council of Women, Minutes, 20 January 1928;
City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 15 October 1928;
City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f1424 16 October 1928.
[137]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 15 October 1928.

Comprehensive Planning

Well in advance of any actions by City Council to consider Town Planning, Calgary's decision makers were exposed to the rhetoric and arguments of those promoting planning, either from the lecture platform, or via the *Calgary Daily Herald*'s editorial column. [138] Henry Vivian, M.P., and planning expert from England, urged City Council to "plan and prepare for the 250,000 souls who will people this city 20 years from now." [139] His address at a Canadian Club luncheon urged those present to improve physical and moral health and living conditions in cities.

The Mayor and Council appointed the first Town Planning Committee late in 1911, following a motion made and seconded by individuals who were later appointed to the Committee:

> That whereas it is desirable that steps be taken at an early date to adopt a general scheme for town planning for the City of Calgary.
> RESOLVED that a committee be appointed by his Worship the Mayor, of citizens representing different interests, occupations and professions to obtain data and information on the subject of town planning and to prepare and recommend a comprehensive and extensive scheme of City planning which will meet the requirements of this City for its future development. [140]

Over the course of its first year of operation, the organization was referred to, first, as the Town Planning Committee, then as the Town Planning Commission and, later, as the City Planning Commission (which term will be used for the present discussion). By the time the Commission met, the mayor had a rather narrower view of the Commission's work than was suggested by the Council's motion. The Commission was:

> to plan for the future, to make suggestions for the widening of streets, to act as an advisory board regarding transportation and the general beautification of the city. [141]

Within a week, the Town Planning Commission had divided its members into eight committees dealing with Housing and Sanitation, Arts and Buildings, Traffic and Transportation, Parks and Boulevards, Draughting, Legislative, Street Improvements, and Educational and Statistical

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[138] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 3 September 1910, p. 6, 19 September 1910, p. 6, 22 October 1910, p. 6, 26 October 1910, p. 6, 4 November 1910, p. 6, 11 April 1911, p. 7.
[139] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 27 September 1910, pp. 1,4.
[140] City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 13 November 1911.
[141] *Calgary Daily Herald*, 8 December 1911, p. 1.

matters. As noted earlier, the executive of the City Planning Commission joined with the special committee regarding playgrounds and [open] air spaces in the planning efforts of mid-1912, with this group's final recommendation being that no action be taken to acquire playgrounds and parks.

Visits from expert planners from afar continued while the eight committees were deliberating. Thomas Mawson of Liverpool and London, England lectured at the Canadian Club in April 1912 and at a meeting sponsored jointly by the Daughters of the Empire and the Women's Canadian Club in October 1912. Henry Vivian made a return visit in September 1912.

Not only were the expert planners visiting and lecturing, but there were proposals from both the *Calgary Daily Herald* and the City Planning Commission members that an expert planner should be hired to prepare the City's plan. Soon after Mawson's October lecture, the Commission recommended that his firm be hired. The Commission's rationale in hiring a planner of international reputation included two components: the planner must be good and the planner must be well-known, thus adding to booster efforts.

> We believe that the best man obtainable is none too good for Calgary; and that furthermore, it would be greatly to the city's advantage in every respect, if, in calling in an expert to plan for the future needs of the city, for many years to come, if we secured a man who is at the top of his professon and who is, therefore, capable of accomplishing the best work. We also believe that the reputation that our City would obtain by the announcement that we were employing an expert of world-wide repute, would redound to our credit and this, in its self, would be of great value to us from a publicity standpoint . . .
>
> The members of the Council are undoubtedly aware that Vancouver, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Lethbridge have moved in this matter of town planning. All will readily concede that Calgary can ill afford to lag behind in a matter of such supreme importance to the present and future welfare of this city. [142]

The City Planning Commission may have recommended that Mawson be hired, but Council delayed this issue for a month and recommended that the Commissioners advertise for an expert. [143] Two months later, however, both the Commissioners and the Town Planning Commission recommended that Mawson be hired. [144]

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[142]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f473 12 October 1912.
[143]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 28 November 1912.
[144]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 20 January 1913.

Mr. Pearce was still involved in municipal planning matters while the Mawson firm was preparing Calgary's plan. When one of T.H. Mawson's sons arrived in Calgary to do some of the preliminary work, Mr. Pearce, who had planned to take him on a tour of the city, was out of town. He therefore delegated the task to his son, Seabury. In doing so, he prepared a seven page letter to Seabury, detailing not only the route to be followed, but also the specific sites to be viewed, the uses to which each site could be put, the comments which Seabury could make to Mawson, and the possibilities of acquiring various sites, including the following:

> You might, if you wish, also point out the adaptability of my own property below the house for park purposes, but I do not think it would be well to dwell very much on that as I have some delicacy in negotiating with the City in regard to the same. [145]

While awaiting the appointment of a planning expert, members of the Commission prepared for and attended the Alberta Housing and Town Planning Association's congress in Edmonton. Part of the preparation for the congress included acquiring and distributing copies of the *Town Planning Act of New Brunswick* which was to be used in preparing Alberta's town planning legislation. The stated objective of the congress was:

> to adopt a memorial to the Legislature of Alberta regarding the subject of town planning with the object of securing among other things greater powers for this and other cities in the control of subdivisions and the more equitable distribution of taxes where a local improvement benefits a certain group of property owners. [146]

One and a half years later, in 1914, the Commission credited itself with having been instrumental in the enactment of the *Town Planning Act* for Alberta. [147]

The Mawson Plan arrived in April 1914. It recommended a complete park system to include river banks and bluffs, recreation grounds, promenades, sports facilities and social centres. The grand plan which arrived at a very inopportune time was simply filed, because the funds to implement it were not available due to circumstances in the external economic environment. Having completed part of its mandate - to prepare and recommend a comprehensive scheme of city planning - the City Planning Commission resigned, but

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[145]William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f87.2 28 February 1913.
[146]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f473 18 October 1912.
[147]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f670 1914.

suggested that the Commission be reconstituted in a smaller group as an Advisory Board.[148] It seems that the enthusiasm shown by the Commission in its early stages was decreasing - described by the Commission secretary as becoming "very tepid." [149] Nor was this feeling confined to the Commission. When the Commission's secretary wrote to local groups such as the Board of Trade, The Canadian Club, and the Local Council of Women telling them that the Mawson report was available and that copies were for sale, not one acknowledged his communication. [150] The low level of interest may be attributed to poor economic times, the beginning of the war as well as the absence of key individuals.

Little action occurred for the next 15 years with the exception of minor flurries of interest by the Civic Improvement League, some ideas from the Board of Trade, and two visits from Thomas Adams. Commissioner James Garden attended the Commission of Conservation-sponsored conference launching the Civic Improvement League in January 1916 and returned as the executive member for Alberta. [151] In July 1916, Thomas Adams, town planning advisor to the Commission of Conservation, spoke at a joint City and Board of Trade luncheon. [152] Very quickly the Board of Trade urged the City to proceed with planning under the *Town Planning Act* of Alberta and to "take advantage of the services of Mr. Adams, placed at the disposal of the City by the Commission of Conservation." [153] Council's solution was to refer this offer to the City's Legislative Committee, which recommended that it be left to the Council of 1917. [154] Two years later, in 1918, Mr. Adams did make a return visit; but City officials were occupied with other matters and did not meet with him. In 1927, the Mayor of the day put forth what he termed a "moderate" plan for coordinating the agencies involved in fostering civic beautification and improvements, but little resulted from this. [155]

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[148]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f670 1914.
[149]William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f88 31 July 1914.
[150]William Pearce Collection, University of Alberta Archives, f88 19 August 1914.
[151]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f813 21 February 1916.
[152]*Calgary Daily Herald*, 7 July 1916.
[153]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f814 7 July 1916.
[154]City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 10 July 1916, 11 October 1916.
[155]"Calgary," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* 6 (December 1927): 204-206.

Calgary's interest in planning re-emerged in 1929 at the prodding of Horace Seymour, Director of Town Planning for the Province of Alberta. After the *Town Planning Act* of 1929 was passed Seymour communicated with all towns and cities in the province encouraging them to appoint a Town Planning Commission: "the extent to which your Council will cooperate is a measure of its approval of what the Government has accomplished." [156] Seymour contributed a detailed list of the studies needed as background material for a plan. [157] Calgary soon commissioned A.G. Dalzell, President of the Town Planning Institute of Canada, to prepare an overview "Preliminary report on Town Planning," which, rather than being a plan, gave background and justification for planning efforts. [158]

By the autumn of 1929, the Town Planning Commission was organized and its duties defined. [159] One of its first actions was to commission a zoning scheme, to be prepared by a zoning expert. It was reported by the Journal of the Town Planning Institute that this scheme, prepared rather quickly, was the subject of "violent opposition." The professional journal's rhetoric was rather scathing as it denounced the opposition - considering that "such can no longer be considered intelligent" and was "quite juvenile," with the benefits of zoning being "too obvious to need elaboration." [160]

The Calgary Council of Women's involvement in planning was primarily as an information and education body for its members, with some advocacy on behalf of the women of the city. Each year, the Council's yearbook contained information about town planning and the need for such practices. By 1930, a member of the Calgary Council of Women served as a member of the Town Planning Commission and of its Civic Arts and Playgrounds Committee. [161]

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[156]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f1437 May 1929.
[157]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f1437 3 July 1929.
[158]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f1434 6 July 1929.
[159]City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f1434 30 September 1929;
City of Calgary, Minutes of the City Council, 30 September 1929, 24 October 1929.
[160]"Calgary Zoning Meets Strong Opposition," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* 9 (April 1930): 47.
[161]Calgary Council of Women, Minutes, Yearbook 1926-27, 1927-28, 1930;
City of Calgary, City Clerk's Records, f1508 29 January 1930.

Summary and Analysis

By 1930, the services (the product) in place in Calgary included 32 park sites and seven supervised playgrounds. The Town Planning Commission had prepared a zoning scheme and was working on a plan. Rather than there being a commission or association to deal with parks and playgrounds, these were municipal responsibilities under a Parks Department. The process of developing these services began soon after the townsite was laid out in late 1883. No provision had been made for parks in Calgary's townsite plan. However, through the combined efforts of the Town Council and William Pearce, substantial park land was soon acquired from the Dominion Government.

The four elements of the interpretive framework which will be assessed to determine what happened in Calgary, as in other cities in the study are, ideology, environment, distribution of power, and rational decision making.

The prevailing ideas associated with urban reform and civic boosterism were certainly prevalent in Calgary between 1883 and 1930. There were many examples of rhetoric which extolled the benefits of parks, playgrounds and planning. However, the demonstrated links between rhetoric, policy and action are few in number. Early efforts, in conjunction with the Canadian Pacific Railway, to develop a railway park were slow, even though the park was being promoted as an asset for the residents and a good advertisement for the town and region, intended to impress visitors.

The Calgary Board of Park Commissioners was established apparently without the promotion of interest groups or individuals, although two of its founding members were a staff member of the C.P.R. and a Board of Trade member. The Parks Board was used as a link between interest groups and the decision makers. One example of this occurred when the Board was approached, soon after its formation, by a number of groups including the Men's Educational Club and the Board of Trade, with support from the newspaper, urging the City to acquire parks and playgrounds. Several reasons were cited, including the need to assist bountiful nature in her work in beautifying the city. A strong link can be made between the Board of Trade and the Special Committee which the Parks Board quickly created in 1909 to

investigate the acquisition of park land. Similar committees were also created in 1912 and 1913, although they did not have such a clear link to an advocacy group. Nevertheless, none of these committees were able to report substantial results. One park was acquired, not because the Committee had sought it out, and negotiated for the land, but rather because the land owner offered it in exchange for a street railway connection.

In 1910, a combination of individuals and circumstances produced a seven month long intensive campaign promoting parks in Calgary. William Pearce and the Calgary Horticultural Society agitated in support of the acquisition of parks and the beautification of the city. The Parks Board and the Park Superintendent mounted a campaign of rhetoric, termed park education, aimed at having the parks' funding bylaw passed by the city's voters. But, it was not passed. This is one of the few examples in the four cities, where a public debate occurred concerning an issue in which politicians, interest groups, bureaucrats and a newspaper were all involved. This campaign did not result in the success of the bylaw.

Amid a series of staff changes and disputes between the aldermen and the parks superintendent, and the alderman and the Parks Board, Calgary's park system had very few additions in the early 1910's. Even the new municipal legislation permitting the City to acquire land in subdivisions was of limited usefulness. In 1912, the Parks Board was abolished and the sections of the City Charter that provided the enabling legislation were repealed from the Provincial Statutes at the request of the City.

Supervised playgrounds were promoted in Calgary by groups such as the Men's Educational Club, the Board of Trade and the Children's Aid Society; by the *Calgary Daily Herald*; and by the Parks Superintendent between 1909 and 1916. Only in 1917, with the direct involvement of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., led by their physical directors, did the City actually operate playgrounds. The newly formed Calgary Playgrounds Association acted in an advisory role for three years. The Parks Department took over total supervision of the playgrounds in 1920.

Although several planning experts, including Frederick Todd, Henry Vivian and Thomas Mawson passed through Calgary, only one played a high profile role, even though it

was for a limited time. In 1913, Thomas Mawson, a planner of international reputation, was commissioned to prepare a preliminary plan which the Town Planning Commission believed would be of both technical soundness and useful for publicity purposes. The Report, received in 1914, recommended a complete park system which would include river banks and bluffs, recreation grounds, promenades, sports facilities and social centers. The grand plan which arrived at a very inopportune time was simply filed, because of lack of interest and because the funds to implement it were not available due to circumstances in the external economic environment.

In summary, the ideas and ideology of urban reform and civic boosterism were abundant. But, they had a small impact on the process of providing parks and playgrounds. As well, the impact on the product was not sufficiently significant for this to be considered as an explanation for the development of parks and playgrounds in Calgary.

The social, economic, political and physical environments provided substantial explanation of the development of parks and playgrounds. Of these four components, the local and provincial political environments and the local and international economic environments provided the most impact, with some influence from the physical environment. The physical environment of Calgary was considered to be an attractive one and elements in it, the river, the islands and the bluffs, formed attractions as part of the park system. Some of the rhetoric urging the beautification of the city built a case upon the circumstances whereby the existing site was described as having been provided by "bountiful nature" - in comparison to the site of Regina upon which "nature had not been bountiful in bestowing her gifts."

The impact of the political environment in Calgary and in Alberta included debates regarding the dissolution of the Parks Board, including conflict between the City Councillors and the Parks Board, and the debate regarding the use of part of Mewata Park for an armory or as a park site. The Parks Board was dissolved and its provincial enabling legislation repealed after a series of disputes about unclear definition of roles, allegations of incompetence and the making of political capital. However in the end, the aldermen's will

prevailed and the Parks Board was dissolved. The Mewata Park dispute involved use of the land for open space or for an armory. Arguments in favour of the armory were based on the construction employment and the recreation activities that it would provide; and in disregard of the opposition, even at the provincial legislature, the armory was built.

Representatives of the Calgary City Planning Association were instrumental in laying much of the groundwork for the 1913 *Alberta Town Planning Act*, as they prepared for the 1912 Alberta Housing and Town Planning Association Conference. However, the City of Calgary made no effort to undertake any planning activities under that Act after its passage. When the 1913 Act was repealed and replaced in 1929, Calgary again organized a Town Planning Commission which soon brought in an expert to prepare a zoning scheme which was not well received.

As in other cities, economic rhetoric was prominent and economic conditions had a substantial impact on parks and playgrounds. In 1909, Council was urged to buy land while it was relatively inexpensive, while in 1910 it was noted that parks would increase property values. However, by 1912 the time was inopportune to purchase land due to financial conditions and in 1914 the Mawson plan was set aside because of the lack of funds and interest.

Where long range planning, grand plans and special committees had not been successful in adding to park lands in Calgary, economic conditions and the resulting financial circumstances provided the City with the opportunity to do so. The key to park establishment, however, was the availability of lands on which municipal property taxes had not been paid, which, when combined with the City's legislative power to reserve some of these lands for park purposes led to substantial additions to the park land inventory. Between 1922 and 1927, about one-half of the City's park sites were acquired by this method.

According to the explanations focusing on the distribution of power, those groups or individuals affecting the decisions about parks and playgrounds should either represent economic power or have access to such economic power. In Calgary three groups and several individuals would fit this description. The groups were the Board of Trade, the Council of

Women and the Horticultural Society. The individuals were William Pearce, Dean Paget and a number of land owners including Messrs. Shouldice, MacKay and Hextall.

The Calgary Board of Trade was involved in parks, playgrounds and planning work. One of its members was appointed to the Parks Commission in 1909. Soon after that appointment, the Board of Trade sent a motion to the City Council urging it to acquire parks and playgrounds. The resulting Special Committee to consider the matter included the Board of Trade member. Most of the Board's efforts in planning matters took place after the Mawson plan was received and in conjunction with the Board's decision to involve Thomas Adams of the Commission of Conservation in assisting with planning efforts in Calgary. However, little was done by the City in this regard. This lack of action or interest was in keeping with the situation noted by the Town Planning Commission in 1914.

The Calgary Council of Women was not very active in supporting supervised playgrounds. Rather, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. were intensely involved in the 1917 to 1920 period, when their physical directors ran leadership classes and were staff members at the playgrounds. In town planning matters, the Council of Women provided information and education for its members and was involved in some advocacy on behalf of the women of the city. The efforts of members of these interest groups appear to have been complemented by, and at times superceded by, the efforts of individuals such as Pearce and Paget and the staff members of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A.

The Horticultural Society, aided by William Pearce and Dean Paget, was vocal in its support of the acquisition and development of parks and playgrounds. Using several media including the newspaper and the pulpit, the Horticultural Society joined in the ill-fated campaign of park education. However, their exhortative efforts were not successful.

William Pearce, in his position first as a representative of the Dominion Government and later as an employee of the C.P.R., was extremely prolific in his exhortations and manipulations on behalf of park establishment. His work began in 1883, but was particularly evident between 1909 and 1913. The direct impact of his work was success in acquiring some of Calgary's early parks, with limited success in later years.

The land owners noted were involved in transactions whereby the City acquired Shouldice Park and Bowness Park in exchange for the extension of street rail lines. This provides an excellent example of the use of economic power (land ownership) as a tool in affecting the development of parks and playgrounds.

The final component of the explanatory framework, rational decision making, does not provide a strong explanation in Calgary. Limited examples of such decision making are available. The first was in 1911, when the Town Planning Commission was to obtain data and information, and prepare and recommend a comprehensive and extensive system. Rational decision making may have been implied in this. Two years later, in 1913, a planner (Mawson) was hired more for his reputation, which could be used as ammunition in the civic boosters cause, than for his technical ability and ability to provide an efficient rational plan.

In summary, of the components of the interpretive framework, those of the economic and political environment and of the distribution of power appear to provide the strongest explanations of the development of parks and playgrounds in Calgary.

D. EDMONTON

Settlements Across The River

The two settlements on either side of the North Saskatchewan River, in what is now the City of Edmonton, were developed at different times and for different reasons. Edmonton was established in 1802 as a fur trading post when the North West Company built Fort Augustus, and the Hudson Bay Company built Fort Edmonton. [1] Edmonton's chief function for the next 80 years was to serve as a base for itinerant traders, missionaries, gold miners and scientific expeditions. When the Dominion of Canada took over responsibility for the North West Territories in 1870, the Hudson Bay Company received 3000 acre reserves around a number of its western trading posts, Edmonton being one of those. Thus, while Regina and Calgary had parts of their settlements designated as being in the possession of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the North West Land Company, and Saskatoon had part of its townsite in the hands of the Temperance Colonization Company, in Edmonton the Hudson Bay Company was the major external land owner with which the Edmonton civic government had to deal in its development. Figure 4, which follows, shows the current city and some of the elements of the park system which have developed.

Even though Edmonton's population in 1881 was a mere 263 people, it was beginning to change its function, from outpost to commercial center. In late 1881, the first legal subdivision went on the market, leading to Edmonton's first brief boom that lasted until the spring of 1882. [2] Great hopes and aspirations were raised when it seemed possible that the Canadian Pacific Railway would take the northern route, going through Edmonton. The *Edmonton Bulletin* reported that:

> There is a possibility . . . that the syndicate have decided to build the C.P.R. via Edmonton, crossing the river here, and uniting with the H.B.Co. in building upon their property the metropolis of this far North West. If this surmise should prove correct and it is at least reasonable, all the booms that have taken place yet in

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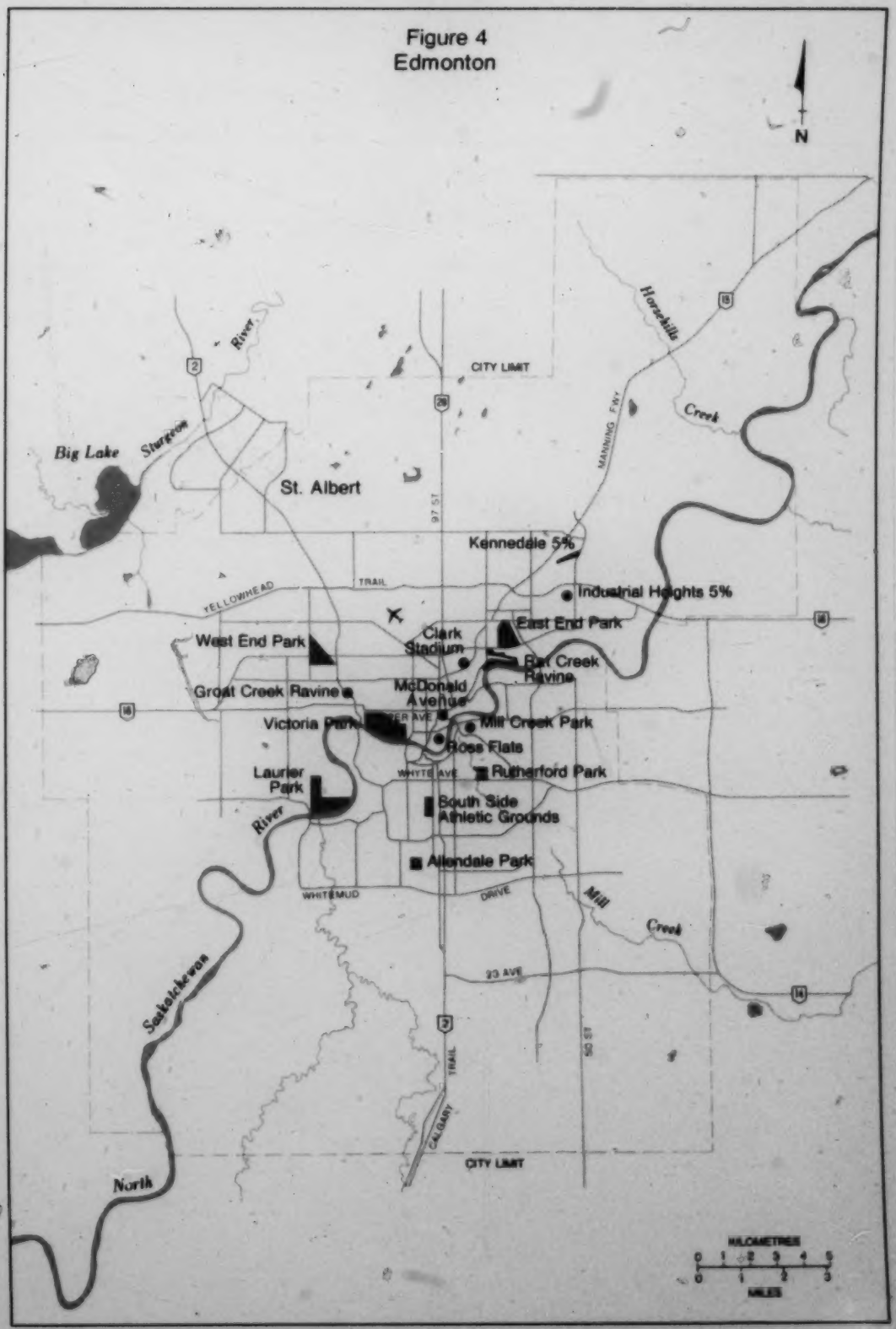
[1] J.G. MacGregor, *Edmonton - A History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1975). pp. 23-24.

[2] J.F. Gilpin, *Edmonton - Gateway to the North* (n.p.: Windsor Publicatations, Inc., 1984), pp. 17-52.

Figure 4
Edmonton



> Manitoba or elsewhere will be as nothing compared to that which the tumble-down walls of Fort Edmonton will see during the next year or two. [3]

The boom was not to be; the C.P.R. went through Calgary and by 1891 ten years later, Edmonton's population had only reached 700 people.

Hopes were raised again by those north of the river that the railway would reach them when, in 1891, a rail line was being constructed from Calgary toward Edmonton. However, the terminus for the Calgary and Edmonton line was declared to be south of the river. "South Edmonton" was to become the main center, much to the consternation of the businessmen and promoters on the north side of the river. Although each center continued to grow slowly, a railway connection between the two was not completed until 1902. Edmonton had become a town in 1892 and a city in 1904. South Edmonton was incorporated as the Town of Strathcona in 1899 and as a city in 1907.

In the period before their amalgamation in 1912, Edmonton and Strathcona each conducted separate efforts to provide park facilities for their residents. Three of the four parks in Strathcona were located close to the main north south axis, Calgary Trail South. With few exceptions, the parks on the Edmonton side of the river were large, undeveloped tracts in the south west, the west end, the east end and on the river flats, sites which were removed from the developed residential areas.

Only one major acquisition was attempted in each city before 1905. In 1893 Edmonton Town Council attempted to acquire for park purposes 25 acres of the Hudson Bay Reserve at the south east corner of the unsubdivided portion (north of what is today Jasper Avenue and 101 Street). The Town Secretary attempted to impress upon the H.B.C. that this could be a fine proposal for all concerned: the town would acquire a park, preferably at a reasonable price, while the Hudson Bay Reserve property might increase in value:

> Kindly let me hear from you as to price, taking into consideration the extent to which an improvement as a Public Park will enhance the value of the H.B. Property.[4]

The price or the timing seemingly were not to Council's liking. [5] While this property appears

[3]Gilpin, p. 52, citing Frank Oliver of the *Edmonton Bulletin*.
[4]City of Edmonton Archives, RG8 C1 11 May 1893.
[5]City of Edmonton Archives, RG8 C1 29 May 1893.

on the list of park acquisitions noted in Dale's 1970 thesis, it is not listed on any inventory produced by city departments between 1903 and 1931 as a park, but rather as the "Old Exhibition Grounds." [6] Whether or not it was actually used as a park, it is important to note that the notion of a public park enhancing the value of other property in close proximity was voiced very early in the development of Edmonton's park system.

Edmonton Town Council's next attempt to acquire parks did not occur for ten years. In 1903 two properties were offered to the city, but neither resulted in parks for Edmontonians. Mr. F. Rowland offered land east of town in River Lot 22 for $125 per acre. [7] Mr. W. Tretheway of Montreal offered the City 150 acres for a public park as part of his proposal to acquire a street railway franchise. [8] Mr. Tretheway received the franchise, posted his good faith deposit, did very limited startup work and lost his deposit. By 1905, Edmonton had neither a street railway nor a park. [9]

It was not until after Edmonton was declared a city in November 1904, that any concerted effort took place to deal with the matter of acquiring park lands. Sparked by a petition requesting that Council purchase the Edmonton Industrial Exhibition Association lands for a public park, councillors began discussing its authority under the City Charter to purchase land for parks. [10] The immediate acquisition of a specific parcel appears to have been a low priority issue amid the intermittent year-long discussion of the value of parks and the city's power to acquire them. The *Edmonton Evening Journal* began its contributions to the discussions by urging council to begin acquiring parks, citing health reasons:

> all the building up and improving of Edmonton will be lost if our young men and women are allowed to grow up hollow-chested and puny for the want of fresh air and abundance of exercise. We trust the proper authorities will take this matter up at an early date and procure a site for the much needed recreation grounds. [11]

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[6] E.H. Dale, "The Role of Successive Town and City Councils in the Evolution of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892 to 1966" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969) p. 571.; and
City of Edmonton Archives, Map File, "Edmonton Parks, 1912."
[7] City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 29 April 1903.
[8] City of Edmonton Archives, RG8 C15/8 15 April 1903;
City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 29 April 1903, 28 May 1903.
[9] MacGregor, pp. 146-147.
[10] City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 17 January 1905, 2 February 1905.
[11] *Edmonton Evening Journal*, 1 July 1905.

A month later, council had what the *Daily Edmonton Bulletin* described as:

> an informal discussion on the question of providing parks for the city. The opinion prevailed that the matter should be taken up at once, else the chances for securing desirable property would be lessened. [12]

At the next council meeting "the whole question of parks was discussed at some length." [13] Councillors were split on where they should concentrate their efforts. Some aldermen favored "small parks and breathing spaces in the heart of the city," while others preferred parks such as the one being offered to them that week, R.W. Morris' property in RL 22, about two miles from the city center. [14] Meanwhile, Council and its committees could not decide whether or not they had the power to acquire parks. [15] By default, the internal debate produced a partial solution to the question of whether park acquisitions should be in the inner city or suburban areas: Mr. Morris withdrew his offer. [16]

The most powerful and timely external pressure came from the Edmonton Board of Trade when it attempted to:

> impress upon the city council the advisability of immediate action towards securing tracts of land suitable for the purposes of public parks for the city. [17]

Council's response [sounding somewhat peevish] was that it had:

> had this matter under . . . serious consideration for some time and have appointed a committee of the Council to look fully into this question and report and that this Council expect to make some substantial progress in connection with park matters before the end of the year. [18]

Before the end of the year the City Commisioners brought in a report recommending six possible park sites and were instructed to find out the costs associated with the sites. [19] More importantly, before the end of the year there was a municipal election with several candidates, both sucessful and unsuccessful, declaring themselves to be in favor of parks. [20] The new City

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[12] *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 5 August 1905, p. 5.
[13] *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 August 1905, p. 1.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 19 August 1905, p. 1;
City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 25 August 1905.
[16] *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 2 October 1905, p. 6.
[17] Edmonton Board of Trade, Minutes, 14 November 1905.
[18] City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 17 November 1905.
[19] City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 8 December 1905, 15 December 1905; *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 9 December 1905, p. 1.
[20] *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 1 December 1905, p. 8, 4 December 1905, 5 December

Council "declared itself in favor of undertaking on broad lines to supply the city with parks."[21]

Quick action followed. Council received options for two properties, and the aldermen, acting "as trustees for the city to purchase and hold," acquired 140 acres in the east end and 100 acres in the west end of the city. [22] The City did not yet have the power to acquire land without submitting the purchase to the burgesses for their approval. This action would have taken too long (at least 60 days), "something the owners of suburban property adjacent to Edmonton would not consider," so the aldermen purchased the land and held it until the necessary bylaws could be passed on August 15, 1906. [23] The owners of the land may not have considered waiting for the burgesses, quite possibly because their developments were going onto the market very soon after the aldermen agreed to purchase the park sites and the parks were good promotional features. Westmount went on sale February 9th. [24] City View, advertised as being "next to Edmonton Park" was for sale soon after. [25] East Wood, "splendid high land adjoining East End City Park," was for sale beginning on February 26th. [26]

The City soon acquired the Industrial Exhibition Grounds on Ross Flats, and had already reserved six acres of the old nuisance ground in RL 6 as the City Park to add to the park system. [27] Thus, by the end of 1906, Edmonton, with a population of 11,167, had its first four parks scattered around the city. Strathcona, population 2,921, had not acquired any park land. Its one attempt to purchase parkland had been turned down by the burgesses by a vote of 87 to 57. [28]

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[20](cont'd) 1905, p. 4, 6 December 1905, pp. 1,4, 8 December 1905, p. 4, 9 December 1905, p. 8.
[21]*Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 3 January 1906, p. 1.
[22]*Edmonton Bulletin*, 1 February 1906, p. 1.
[23]*Edmonton Bulletin*, 1 February 1906, p. 1;
City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 13 April 1906, 21 April 1906, 26 June 1906, 28 June 1906, 21 August 1906.
Edmonton Bulletin, 16 August 1906, p. 1.
[24]*Edmonton Bulletin*, 7 February 1906.
[25]*Edmonton Bulletin*, 13 February 1906.
[26]*Edmonton Bulletin*, 21 February 1906.
[27]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 17 November 1905, 9 November 1906; City of Edmonton, Financial Statements and Auditor's Report.
[28]City of Edmonton Archives, RG 100.1 C2 p. 843.

Park Management

Due to the lack of available and accessible records for Strathcona, the presentation and discussion regarding park management for the 1906-1911 period will focus on the parks in Edmonton, with limited discussion of the situation in Strathcona.

Even though Edmonton did not have a Parks Commission until late in 1911, substantial discussion and efforts were evident five years earlier, in 1906. These early discussions and efforts involved the Board of Trade as the promoter of civic beautification; a planner from afar, Frederick G. Todd; a civic election campaign; and the Canadian Club, which attempted to promote and implement suggestions about beautification.

In October 1906, the Board of Trade's Civic Interests Committee suggested "certain action for the beautifying of the city." [29] The suggested action included a boulevard along the river bank and around the city, reserving the river bank for park area, reserving Rat Creek and Groat Creek Ravines, and constructing a driveway 15 miles up and downstream - all of which should involve both the city and provincial governments. [30] Within a month, soon after the provincial government hired Frederick Todd of Montreal to plan the legislature grounds area, the *Edmonton Bulletin* began promoting the Board of Trade proposal and advocating enhancement in keeping with Edmonton's status as the provincial capital.

> That Edmonton should have as a civic ideal a broad and comprehensive scheme of beautification should not require argument. Her present and her future as an industrial and commercial centre demand the provision of park and breathing spaces to conserve the health and pleasure of a population which will grow annually more dense, while the dignity of a capital city requires that she should be something more attractive than a collection of unromantic business houses intersected by noisy thoroughfares. A capital city should be more than a meeting place of the legislature - it should be also a centre for the growth and dissemination of whatever makes for the intellectual development, the aesthetic cultivation and the moral uplift of humanity. [31]

Within a week, representatives of the Board of Trade and City Council met with Mr. Todd and Council agreed to hire him to:

> design a general scheme of laying-out roads, boulevards, and parks, and otherwise preserving and improving the natural beauties of our City and its surroundings. [32]

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[29]Edmonton Board of Trade, Minutes, 11 October 1906.
[30]*Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 October 1906, p. 3.
[31]*Edmonton Bulletin*, 7 November 1906, p. 4.
[32]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report #172, 1906;

In addition to his work for the provincial government and the City of Edmonton, Mr. Todd was also commissioned to prepare a plan for Strathcona. [33]

While Todd was preparing the plans for all his clients in the area, a municipal election took place in Edmonton. The location of park acquisitions became a topic of debate during the campaign. Some candidates declared themselves in favor of small parks while others were in favor of a central park. [34] Once elected they waited for five months until the plan arrived from Mr. Todd in Montreal. Received in April 1907, it recognized certain natural and economic factors:

> In evolving a comprehensive scheme for parks and boulevards for Edmonton, every advantage should be taken of the great natural beauty of the situation, and also attention must be given to the economic interest of the city, by withdrawing for park purposes, property which is of least value for building, if it is equally valuable for park purposes. Indeed, it often happens that the land most unsuitable for building is the best for park purposes, such as the sides of steep ravines and hillsides. [35]

The plan recommended improvements to East End and West End Parks, acquisition of a North End Park and a park on the H.B. Flats and of land in Rat Creek and Groat Creek Ravines, together with the acquisition of 10 or 12 sites for small parks and playgrounds, and a series of boulevards and parkways linking the major parks and the city center.

Todd's plan for Strathcona was based on the same fundamental premises as that for Edmonton, using the assets of the natural environment. In fact, the same words of justification were used regarding "the great natural beauty of the situation" and "the economic interests of the city." [36] He recommended large parks, but not specific sites, at the East and West Ends of the City; plus one on the small hill or "Butte" at the South End (now Mount Pleasant cemetery). There were recommendations for land in Mill Creek Ravine, Black Mud Ravine, the river bank of the Saskatchewan River, boulevards linking the major parks and four or five playgrounds. It was a plan similar in spirit to that which he had prepared for

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[33](cont'd) City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 13 November 1906.
[33]*Edmonton Bulletin*, 15 November 1906, p. 4.
[34]*Edmonton Bulletin*, 22 November 1906, p. 7, 24 November 1906, p. 12, 28 November 1906, p. 2, 6 December 1906, p. 1.
[35]City of Edmonton Archives, City of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34 f1 5 April 1907.
[36]W.A. Greisbach Collection, City of Edmonton Archives, f255 6 May 1907.

Edmonton.

The Todd plan for Strathcona was tabled at Council. [37] The Todd plan for Edmonton was read at the regular luncheon meeting of the Canadian Club. [38] The Canadian Club had been organized in December 1906 "to foster patriotism by encouraging the study of our national institutions, history, arts, literature, and resources of Canada, and to unite all classes and sections of the Dominion for its welfare and progress." The Club provided a continuing forum for presentation and discussion of issues of local and national significance. [39]

The action which resulted from the Edmonton plan's presentation was mixed. No strong commitment was made by public authorities, but private citizens began some improvements. Limited public commitment was made by the Mayor "that the civic authorities should keep the plan in mind, and gradually carry it into effect, so that in ten or fifteen years the plan might be completed." [40] The Canadian Club took up the question of "how to make Edmonton the city beautiful." [41] The forum provided by the Canadian Club permitted the mayor, a number of members of Council, members of the Board of Trade, and some businessmen to organize "a civic guild having for its object the improving and beautifying of the city." Referring to Todd's report, the Mayor "asked that the members discuss the subject in a general manner, indicating what means could be taken to secure the co-operation of the individual citizens in the work of 'scenic improvement'." [42] Thus, while the public body was not moving rapidly to implement the plan, those same individuals, acting as private citizens were encouraging some improvements.

Under the auspices of the Canadian Club, the Civic Improvement Guild was organized with the following objects:

> (1) The improvement by property owners of their property.
> (2) The encouragement and advancement of the general civic plan of parks, boulevards, drives, etc. [43]

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[37] Ibid.
[38] *Edmonton Bulletin*, 15 April 1907, p. 1.
[39] *Edmonton Bulletin*, 18 December 1906, p. 1.
[40] *Edmonton Bulletin*, 15 April 1907, p. 1.
[41] *Edmonton Bulletin*, 30 April 1907, p. 4.
[42] *Edmonton Bulletin*, 30 April 1907, p. 4.
[43] *Edmonton Evening Journal*, 8 May 1907, p. 5.

The organization's primary role seems to have been one of encouraging the residents to appreciate and to undertake horticultural improvements. Its activities included giving speeches and publishing a pamphlet giving advice about trees and flowers. This was civic improvement on a small scale. [44]

Few issues and very little action with regard to park management and planning occurred until mid-1911. Both cities, Edmonton and Strathcona, had continued to expand, now reaching 24,882 and 6,182 people respectively. [45] Between June and November of 1911, a groundswell of opinion encouraged the Edmonton City Council to appoint a Parks Commission, with staff. The *Edmonton Evening Journal*'s editorial page gave a lengthy description of the Saskatoon Parks Board and noted that:

> the establishment of a Parks Board has been the means everywhere that it has been adopted of bringing about first class results and of stimulating interest on the part of the mass of the citizens. Why should we not create such a body here? [46]

A month later the *Edmonton Evening Journal* continued its campaign - "the need for a forward move in the way of a park policy has been long admitted, but nothing has been done." [47] Soon thereafter City Council received a recommendation from R.B. Chadwick that a Parks Commission be formed. [48] The newspaper took credit for initiating some of the action when it noted that "the *Journal*'s revival of the park and boulevard discussion is meeting with exceptional support." [49]

R.B. Chadwick had become a resident of Edmonton in 1906 when he was appointed as secretary of the Edmonton Young Men's Christian Association. He had previously spent 6 1/2 years with the Y.M.C.A. in Toronto and 1 1/2 years in Belleville, Ontario. [50] After leaving Y.M.C.A. work in Edmonton, he became Superintendent of Dependent and Delinquent Children for the Province of Alberta. His advocacy work for parks and playgrounds in

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[44] *Edmonton Evening Journal*, 11 May 1907, p. 7, 18 May 1907, p. 7, 1 June 1907, p. 5;
Edmonton Bulletin, 11 May 1907, p. 7, 2 June 1907, p. 7.
[45] MacGregor, p. 187.
[46] *Edmonton Evening Journal*, 29 May 1911, p. 4.
[47] *Edmonton Evening Journal*, 23 June 1911, p. 6.
[48] City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 4 July 1911.
[49] *Edmonton Journal*, 14 October 1911, p. 4.
[50] *Edmonton Bulletin*, 16 June 1906, pp. 1,3.

Edmonton made him one of the main promoters of those causes, with little distinction being made between his official and his volunteer activities.

Mr. Chadwick's recommendation for creating a Parks Commission was quickly taken up by Council. [51] The appointments to that body were made less quickly. The Parks Commission included Edmonton businessmen W.H. Clark and H.M.E. Evans; Lionel Gibbs, an architect who had been promoting planning and parks for some years; Edmonton City officials, Mayor Armstrong and City Engineer Latournel; Strathcona representatives Ald. Tipton and Dr. H.M. Tory of the University of Alberta; and provincial officials, J. Stocks, Deputy Minister of Public Works and R.B. Chadwick, Superintendent of Dependent and Delinquent Children. [52]

Mr. Chadwick's appointment to the Parks Commission put him in a position to implement notions about parks and playgrounds which he had been advocating behind the scenes for some time. His letter of acceptance of the appointment describes his philosophy:

> My interest of course, will tend particularly around the parks, their sociological value and their value as preventatives of crime in dealing with children. [53]

While Mr. Chadwick's letter of acceptance puts forth reform sentiments, another member, Mr. Tipton, expresses booster rhetoric as he hopes that parks will add to the City's prestige. Mr. Tipton wanted to:

> Cooperate ... in gradually working up to a system of parks that will be a blessing to posterity; and a credit to the greater city, that we all love so well, and hope to see it become the greatest inland agricultural, commercial and industrial center of this great Dominion. [54]

The Parks Commission's responsibilities were purely advisory, but they were sufficiently broad that planning, the civic center, and that broad category "civic betterment" were included. The Commission was to have:

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[51]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 4 July 1911, 11 July 1911, 5 September 1911.
[52]*Edmonton Journal*, 24 October 1911, p. 12, 7 December 1911, p. 1, 8 December 1911, p. 1;
Edmonton Bulletin, 13 December 1911, p. 3,
Edmonton Journal, 13 December 1911, p. 8;
City of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34 f2 12 December 1911.
[53]City of Edmonton, Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, f2 15 December 1911.
[54]City of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, f2 15 December 1911.

> an initiative and advisory status with and under the City Commissioners in the general management, regulation and control of all parks, boulevards, drives and public places [except the Exhibition Grounds] . . . .
> The Parks Commission may initiate, plan, develop and recommend to the City Council through the City Commissioners such improvement schemes, city planning and civic centre projects and such other betterment endeavors as may be deemed worthy of their recommendation. [55]

The rather broad mandate seemed to reflect the interests of some of the Commission members. For example, Mr. Gibbs was a promoter of civic beautification and planning; Mr. Chadwick was a promoter of parks and playgrounds; and Dr. Tory was a member of the Commission of Conservation, which was interested in planning.

The Parks Commission's seemingly broad mandate was viewed less than generously by the City Solicitor, J.C. Bown:

> The Parks Commission has no legal status and at present is nothing more than a mere body of citizens appointed under resolution of the Council as a sort of advisory body; they can do absolutely nothing, except perhaps make recommendations to the Commissioners or the Council as to what they think it would be advisable to do in regard to park improvements. [56]

However, although it was organized as an advisory body, the Parks Commission was advisory to a civic organization which had both funds and staff - thus giving it the opportunity to recommend schemes that might have the likelihood of implementation. The City Charter was soon amended to secure a source of income, permitting Council to levy up to 3/4 of a mill "for the maintenance of the parks, public squares, places and recreation grounds and buildings in the city." [57]

The City established the Parks Department on April 1, 1912 with Paul von Aueberg as superintendent. [58] Although his work was praised by the Commission, on occasion he voiced the classic lament of a public servant as he described the exercise of tree planting:

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[55]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report #78, 29 April 1912;
City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 30 April 1912.
[56]City of Edmonton, Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, f3, 30 April 1912.
[57]*Edmonton Journal*, 24 January 1912, p. 1;
City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report #78, 29 April, 1912, p. 2;
City of Edmonton, Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, Parks Commission, Annual Report, 1912, p. 3.
[58]City of Edmonton, Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, Parks Commission, Annual Report, 1912, p. 3.

> Planting was rushed as much as consistent with thoroughness. During the planting the usual suggestions were made by well meaning but ignorant people . . . . All agreed that they know more about the subject than anyone else. [59]

The Parks Commission of 1912 was full of ideas and plans for Edmonton's future. It worked on improvements to existing parks, discussed playgrounds, acquired the services of a planning consultant, and recommended new park sites. The 1913 officials and staff, however, were faced with the reality of limited finances, in the wake of economic depression. By the end of July 1913, the Parks Department was forced to stop constructing improvements in the parks and to lay off staff. [60] Within a week, its funding was reduced because it was a "non-revenue producing" department. [61] Two weeks later, the department was abolished. [62] The perceived non-essential nature of the department was epitomized by this action, and by a further one, when the remaining Parks department funds were used to finance the deficits of other departments. [63]

The Parks Department was briefly reestablished in February 1914 with plans for extensive park improvements, including playgrounds. [64] The resurrected department lasted for six months, but was again abolished in August 1914 as a measure of fiscal restraint. [65] After presentation of its First Annual Report, dated 31 December 1912, there are no further references to a Parks Commission in the available City Council or Parks Department records. Matters relating to park management were handled by the Engineering Department.

Park Planning

The early park planning efforts of Edmonton and Strathcona, which were carried out by Frederick Todd, have been documented already. The Todd plans were prepared, presented

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[59]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report, Monthly Report May 1912.
[60]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report, July 1913;
Edmonton Journal, 31 July 1913;
City of Edmonton, Financial Statements and Auditor's Report, 1913, p. 247.
[61]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 6 August 1913.
[62]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 19 August 1913.
[63]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report #314, 6 November 1913.
[64]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 13 February 1914, 17 February 1914;
Edmonton Journal, 17 February 1914, p. 1.
[65]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 6 August 1914.

and filed. The Edmonton Parks Commission, established in 1911, was given wide ranging duties to "initiate, plan, develop and recommend" projects "deemed worthy of their recommendation." [66] Following from that mandate, two sets of planning efforts were undertaken in 1912. The first was in the form of a policy from Council to acquire park land in new subdivisions and in ravines. The second effort, a city-wide plan, was commissioned from the Minneapolis firm, Morell and Nichols.

The Council policy regarding subdivisions was directed at subdivisions which were being added at the edge of the City. The City was to be allowed to purchase, at "rock bed price," five percent of the property for park or utility purposes with another five percent being donated by those petitioning to have the development added to the city. [67] Council proved to be uncommitted to the implementation of this policy. Subdivisions continued to be added to the city without providing park land. [68] The Parks Commission's final statement about the procedure was that:

> this bylaw, unfortunately, seems to be of a flexible nature and at times the City Council sees fit to exempt certain landholders from the by-law. This is most unfortunate . . . [69]

The City's practice of acquiring ravine land was discussed for several years, beginning with the Board of Trade proposition in 1906 and the Todd plan of 1907. Council and the ratepayers approved the purchase of Rat Creek Ravine and Groat Creek Ravine in 1912. [70] In the attempts to acquire 10 percent of subdivisions for park and utility purposes, provision was made whereby ravine lands could be included as part of that 10 percent. [71] This "policy" regarding the acquisition of ravines was described glowingly in the following excerpt from the *Canadian Municipal Journal*:

> the policy of the parks department is to acquire land that is not suited to residential

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[66]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report #78, 29 April 1912.
[67]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 23 April 1912.
[68]*Edmonton Journal*, 31 July 1912, p. 1, 29 November 1912, p. 7.
[69]City of Edmonton, Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, Parks Commission, Annual Report, 1912, p. 12.
[70]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 30 July 1912, 28 September 1912.
[71]City of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, f1 26 September 1912, 23 October 1912.

or industrial purposes, especially ravines and land that slopes toward the river.[72]

This deliberate acquisition policy for the river valley sides and ravine land provided the city with 79 percent (1697 of 2156 acres) of its public park land by 1931.[73] Some of the ravines and river sides were purchased while other were designated as parks after a 1926 Council decision:

> That ... the broken banks, low lying properties and other properties not suitable for building purposes and now or hereafter coming into the possession of the City, be reserved from resale and added to our parks and ravine reserves. [74]

The Morell and Nichols firm was hired by the City, on advice from the Parks Commission, to prepare a plan for parks, boulevards, a civic center, approaches to the legislative buildings and railway stations, street furniture and street railway development. Although parks were to be but one part of the overall plan, one member of council thought that Mr. von Aueberg would be capable of creating the plan. The Parks Superintendent's thoughts on this suggestion present a view of experts from afar that is often thought, but less often stated; he was

> of the opinion that outside advice would have more influence with the ratepayers when they come to be asked to vote on the proposition. [75]

Morell and Nichols produced a preliminary report in November 1912. The report included much rhetoric about the importance of planning and parks, congratulating Edmonton for its "advanced ideas on building the City along the most progressive lines." [76] Many of its parks recommendations appear to be similar to those in the previous Todd report.

The results of the civic center planning exercise received mixed reviews in Edmonton. The *Edmonton Journal* considered that if the plans "were all carried out to the letter Edmonton would almost vie with ancient Athens for classic beauty and severity of adherence to the ideal." [77] But the newly elected Mayor was "profoundly disappointed" with the plan. [78]

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[72]G.M. Hall, "Parks in Edmonton, Alberta," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 9 (September, 1913): 364.
[73]City of Edmonton Archives, Parks and Recreation files.
[74]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 28 January 1926.
[75]*Edmonton Journal*, 7 August 1912, p. 2.
[76]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report #296, 21 November 1912, p. 69.
[77]*Edmonton Journal*, 19 November 1912, p. 1.
[78]*Edmonton Journal*, 12 January 1963 "50 Years Ago."

Council agreed with the general outline of the Morell and Nichols plan and authorized $8,500 for further study. However little progress seems to have been made in completing the report, as the City's financial status declined. [79]

After the grand plan by Todd and the articulated, but not implemented, policy of 1912, little substantial work was done to plan for park lands for the next ten years. The City's Financial Statements and Reports for 1914 and 1915 give an indication of the city's view that expenditures other than essential ones were not to be considered:

> the fact should not be overlooked that those Utilities which are unable to meet their operating expenses, and interest and principal charges are a burden upon the City as a whole, and the financial markets will in all probability take an unfavorable view of this. [80]

> It was, therefore, necessary for us to practice the most rigid economy and eliminate all expenditures except those which were absolutely necessary to carry on the work of the city. [81]

Planning for parks and the acquisition of land for parks was not considered "absolutely necessary."

In 1922, after being approached by both the Federation of Community Leagues [82] and a delegation of Athletic Associations, the City developed a policy for reserving lands for recreation purposes. [83] The lands reserved were those which had reverted to the City due to the non payment of municipal taxes. Sites were designated throughout the city to be used for recreation and by the particular community league in the area. [84]

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[79]City of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, 2 January 1913.
[80]City of Edmonton, Financial Statements and Annual Reports - 1914, p. 3.
[81]City of Edmonton, Financial Statements and Annual Reports - 1915, p. 3.
[82]The community leagues in Edmonton began in 1917 as community action organizations whose interests included civic matters and recreation opportunities. By 1921, there were ten community leagues in various parts of the city. Although these ten leagues were dispersed geographically, they had common concerns, some of which involved recreation (park and playground matters). That year the Federation of Community Leagues was founded to provide the leagues with a common single voice to City Council. (E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1970), pp. 41-42.
[83]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 25 September 1922, 29 November 1922.
[84]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report #106 7 June 1923; City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 8 October 1923.

Thus, in the case of Edmonton, as in other centers, while park plans were created in the early 1910's, specific parcels of land usable by local community residents were reserved in the 1920's when land became available at very little cost to the city. By 1927, the City was in a position to decline a landowner's offer of a gift of land. It was "difficult for Council to acquiesce in accepting lands for public park purposes, as the City now has more than ample of this class of property." [15]

Land Acquisition

Few land purchases in Edmonton and Strathcona were made according to a predetermined plan for distributing a series of parks throughout the city. Some park site acquisitions can be viewed as planned, in the sense that the acquisition was considered for a lengthy time period during which the intent to acquire continued, even though it may have been sporadic and extended over a long time. Such protracted negotiations resulted in the City acquiring land on Hudson Bay Reserve flats, now Victoria Park (1905, 1910-1912) for $302,220; on the College Avenue, now McDonald Avenue, hillside (1910-1912); and on the penitentiary site, now Clark Stadium (1912, 1920, 1926-27).

Some parcels were transferred to use as parks after use for another purpose. The old exhibition grounds on Ross Flats became Diamond Park, later Renfrew Park, now John Ducey park. An old hospital site in the Boyle Street area, the isolation hospital site near Rat Creek and a hospital site on the south side all became parks. The old nuisance ground in RL 6 became the City Park. The old exhibition grounds for the south side became the South Side Athletic Grounds.

Other land acquisition techniques included donation, purchase, subdivision land dedication and tax land reversion. Donations of whole parks, or of a part to which was later added more land, provided the land for Allendale Park, Rutherford Park and Mill Creek Park. Outright purchase, after being offered the land, provided the base for West End, East End, Rat Creek Ravine, Groat Creek Ravine and Laurier Parks (this latter property being sold

[15]City of Edmonton Archives, Parks and Playgrounds Records, A73-52, 4 March 1927.

from one civic department to another). Apparently, only two properties became parks as a result of the 5 percent plus 5 percent subdivision requirement. These were Kennedale and Industrial Heights, in the northeast part of the developing city (1912). A substantial portion of Edmonton's park system resulted from the City reserving lands for community use after they had reverted to the City because of delinquent taxes.

As noted earlier, the deliberate acquisition policy for the river valley sides and ravine land provided the city with 79 percent (1697 of 2156 acres) of its public park land by 1931. [16] One of the few actions of the Local Council of Women regarding public parks was to encourage Council to continue its preservation of ravines. [17]

A few disputes arose regarding the disposition of park lands in Edmonton. When, in 1926, the City was approached regarding leasing part of Westmount Park to a private group, for a golf club, a letter was soon received from the Federation of Community Leagues, protesting such leasing. The proposal was dropped. [18] Six years earlier, a group which became the Mayfair Golf and Country Club, had received a lease of the City's river bottom and side land near the University after very little discussion. The committee seeking the lease for a golf course convinced Council with the arguments that "it would be in the nature of providing a large park or breathing space and it is difficult to see to what better purpose it could be put" and that "the City would be obtaining a revenue." [19] There was no opposition to the lease.

Playgrounds

Local advocacy promoting playgrounds in Edmonton began during the same period as the early stages of discussions about the Parks Commission and Civic Planning. Key promoters of the playground movement were the Local Council of Women, R.B. Chadwick and the *Edmonton Journal*.

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[16]City of Edmonton Archives, Parks and Recreation files.
[17]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 25 June 1928.
[18]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 25 October 1926;
City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Finance Committee, 2 November 1926, 11 November 1926.
[19]City of Edmonton, Commissioners' Reports-Parks and Markets Committee, 21 May 1920.

The statements about playgrounds made by the Council of Women and by R.B. Chadwick were frequently interrelated. Chadwick corresponded with and spoke to meetings of the Council of Women, who in turn then repeated similar statements to the press and to decision makers. These were often followed by newspaper articles and editorials supporting the playground movement.

As noted earlier, the Council of Women had been involved with the playground movement at the national level, since 1901. Edmonton's local council showed an interest in the topic in the Spring of 1911, apparently contacting Mr. Chadwick, the provincial Superintendent of Delinquent and Dependent children, for information. His reply advocated that a playground association be formed and gave the Council some background information about a past attempt to establish a playground in Edmonton: "the work was unsuccessful owing to the unsympathetic nature of the janitor of the school toward the idea" and because there was no supervision. He encouraged supervision, as "a playground without a supervisor as a rule is more of a menace than a help, as rowdyism is so readily developed where children are collected together without supervision." He offered his assistance and noted that "the constitution of the Children's Aid Society calls for the organization of play grounds." [90] This latter group showed limited interest and involvement in playgrounds in succeeding years. Mr. Chadwick followed his letter with an address about public playgrounds at the next Council of Women meeting. [91] The Council did not proceed with any playground work for six months, but Mr. Chadwick soldiered on, approaching the City Council and contacting a Montreal playground equipment supplier who agreed to install a "model playground" during exhibition week, if the City would pay for the freight costs. [92]

Meanwhile, the *Edmonton Journal* had produced a series of editorials, including cartoons, in support of supervised playgrounds, with citations from the Superintendent of Schools, local doctors, the physical director and the general secretary of the Y.M.C.A. and from a Town Planning Conference in London, England; followed by a series entitled "What

[90]Provincial Archives of Alberta, 74.1 f193 20 April 1911.
[91]Provincial Archives of Alberta, 74.1 f191 4 May 1911.
[92]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 11 July 1911;
Edmonton Journal, 12 July 1911, p. 2.

Other Cities Are Doing In The Matter Of Playgrounds." [93] According to the citations, playgrounds could improve physical health and morals, reduce juvenile crime and be a "nation builder."

This playground promotional campaign and R.B. Chadwick's proposal for a Parks Commission resulted in what the Mayor and the *Edmonton Journal* praised as "the first practical step towards securing playgrounds for the children of Edmonton." [94] The Parks Commission, as discussed in July 1911, would have responsibility for land for parks and playgrounds. However, little mention was made of supervision and programming.

The Local Council of Women, led by Emily Murphy, returned to its discussion of supervised playgrounds in the fall of 1911, with a motion to approach the decision makers of the School Board and the City "to have at least one properly supervised playground established at Edmonton for the use of the children." [95] Some limited progress occurred. Mr. Chadwick reported to the Council of Women that two playgrounds would be established at schools in 1912. [96] By the end of 1912, he was able to report that:

> a committee was organized early in the year 1912 to consider the question of providing adequate playgrounds for the children of the City . . . It was decided that it would be inadvisable to equip playgrounds with valuable apparatus unless the City were prepared to employ supervisors or play leaders. [97]

It seems that there was no supervision in 1912, but his plans for 1913 included both apparatus and experienced leaders. Work was done in the fall of 1912 to equip some schools with apparatus. [98] The flurry of activity through 1911 and 1912 continued briefly into 1913, when the City estimates included a playground with caretaker and physical instructor. No records exist of whether any implementation took place, but given the cutbacks and layoffs that took place in the summer of 1913, the project was probably not undertaken.

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[93] *Edmonton Journal*, 31 May 1911, p. 1, 3 June 1911, p. 11, 10 June 1911, pp. 1,8, 14 June 1911, p. 7, 7 July 1911, p. 3, 3 August 1911, p. 3, 14 August 1911, p. 2, 19 August 1911, p. 3.
[94] *Edmonton Journal*, 11 July 1911, p. 7.
[95] Provincial Archives of Alberta, 74.1 f191 26 October 1911, 25 January 1912.
[96] Provincial Archives of Alberta, 74.1 f191 22 March 1912.
[97] City of Edmonton, Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, Parks Commission, Annual Report, 1912, pp.10-11.
[98] City of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, f4 28 September 1912, 3 October 1912, 5 October 1912, 8 October 1912; f7 28 December 1912.

Efforts to deal with the overall coordination of recreation opportunities in Edmonton including playgrounds subsided until 1920. In that year, representatives from the Public Schools, Boy Scouts, Rotary Clubs, Y.M.C.A., Women's University Club, Y.W.C.A., Council of Women, Southside Community League, Central Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Committee for Co-operation in Boys Work met to organize "a commission for the promotion of recreation amongst all classes in the city." [99] After several setbacks, the group deferred the notion of establishing a Commission and, instead, created a Recreation Committee with "full responsibility for the organization of recreation activities in the city . . . its work should be along the lines of recreational education, arousing public sentiment by demonstrating to the citizens the benefits to be derived from services of a Recreation Commission." [100] The committee was to be appointed for eight months and followed by a Recreation Commission.

When City Council discussed the matter of hiring an expert Recreation Commissioner early in 1921, it was urged to do so by members of the Recreation Committee and the Local Council of Women. However, although Council was "in full sympathy with the objects of the movement," it felt "that at the present time they are unable to recommend compliance on the lines requested," and directed the matter back to the volunteer bodies. Council asked the delegation

> to take the matter up with the various public spirited bodies in the City with a view of finding out if there would be a disposition to take up this matter in a voluntary way. [101]

When asked to reconsider, the response of the Finance Committee of Council was the same - "it could not see its way clear to make such a recommendation at this time." [102]

Two "public spirited bodies," the Federation of Community Leagues and the Gyro Club, a service club, became interested in playgrounds. The community leagues sought city land to establish a land base in each of their areas - a policy endorsed by the Mayor, as he stated in his inaugural address in late 1921:

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[99]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report, March 1920.
[100]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report, 18 May 1920.
[101]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 24 January 1921.
[102]*Edmonton Journal*, 18 February 1921, p. 8.

> the City is now acquiring title to large blocks of land. In our settled areas these blocks should be either beautified along carefully designed lines or retained by the City as recreation spaces for the children of the various comunities. [103]

The Gyro Club began its 28 year involvement with supervised playgrounds in Edmonton in 1923. The club installed playground equipment at Patricia Square in 1923 and at Kitchener Square and Tipton Park in 1924. [104] An annual grant from the City provided for supervision of the playgrounds. [105] Through annual agreements, the Gyro Club provided and maintained the playground equipment and provided supervision, while the City provided utilities and stored the equipment during the winter. [106]

After 12 years of rhetoric, the task of providing supervised playgrounds, albeit at only three locations, was taken on successfully by a service club, with partial funding from the City to augment the funds which the Gyro Club raised at its annual carnival. [107]

Comprehensive Planning

The promoters of comprehensive planning in Edmonton often used the Board of Trade as a forum for discussing and disseminating information. Just as the Board of Trade had led the advocacy for civic beautification and park planning in 1905 and 1906, it took up civic planning in 1911, with the following rationale:

> That, in view of the rapid growth anticipated for Edmonton in the near future, some steps should be taken to adequately provide for that development, and that a Committee be formed to obtain information, study and report upon what is being done in the matter of civic planning in other progressive Cities with a view to the formation of a Civic Planning Commission for this City and the obtaining of a report and plan from acknowledged experts that shall form a basis and a goal of future improvements. [108]

A committee was formed, headed by Lionel Gibbs, and reported at the Board's next meeting. The report, based substantially on the one which Frederick Todd had prepared in 1906-07,

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[103]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report, 1921, mf16.
[104]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 25 April 1923, 10 September 1923, 26 May 1924.
[105]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 10 March 1924, 26 May 1925.
[106]City of Edmonton, Parks and Recreation Records, A73-52, February 1928.
[107]E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/Recreation Association), p. 42.
[108]Edmonton Board of Trade, Minutes, 11 April 1911.

was adopted and referred to the Board's Civic Interests Committee. [109] Thus, at the same time as R.B. Chadwick, the Local Council of Women and the *Edmonton Journal* were promoting the development of supervised playgrounds, and Mr. Chadwick, C.L. Gibbs, the Mayor and the *Edmonton Journal* were in favor of a Parks Commission, Mr. Gibbs and members of the Board of Trade were promoting civic planning.

After securing the backing of the Edmonton Board of Trade, Lionel Gibbs attempted to organize a civic planning body, by speaking at a Strathcona Board of Trade meeting and urging through interviews that there be a city planning commission. [110] The idea was taken up on the editorial pages of the *Edmonton Journal*. [111] Visiting lecturers such as Mr. and Mrs. Dunnington-Grubb, who spoke at a Board of Trade meeting, continued to promote planning, but no civic planning commission was formed. [112] Instead, as Gibbs had mentioned in a July 1911 interview, the Parks Commission was created and took on a very broad mandate which permitted it to:

> initiate, plan, develop and recommend to City Council through the City Commissioners such civic improvement schemes, city planning and civic center projects, and such other betterment endeavors as may be deemed worthy of their recommendation. [113]

Members of the first Parks Commission included C. Lionel Gibbs and R.B. Chadwick, promoters of planning and parks and playgrounds. Mr. Gibbs became chairman of the Commission, with Mr. Chadwick as secretary.

Within the Parks Commission, a committee on Housing and Civic Planning was then formed "to gather information and data in reference to housing conditions and civic plans."[114] The Commission soon contacted a number of consultants, including Frederick G. Todd of Montreal (who had prepared the 1906-07 plan), John Nolen of Cambridge Massachusetts

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[109]Edmonton Board of Trade, Minutes, 16 May 1911;
Edmonton Journal, 17 May 1911, p. 3.
[110]*Edmonton Journal*, 8 June 1911, p. 2, 17 July 1911, p. 12.
[111]*Edmonton Journal*, 22 May 1911, p. 4, 18 July 1911, p. 4, 6 October 1911, p. 4, 7 October 1911, p. 4.
[112]*Edmonton Journal*, 4 August 1911, p. 5.
[113]*Edmonton Journal*, 17 July 1911, p. 12; and
City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report #78, 29 April 1912.
[114]City of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, f4 18 June 1912.

(who was frequently cited in park planning publications), and Morell and Nichols of Minneapolis (who had been doing work for the City of Saskatoon). [115] Morell and Nichols were hired and produced a plan with two alternatives for a civic center, as well as a general plan for highways, transportation, industries, housing, the approach to the legislature, river improvements, boulevards, playgrounds, cemeteries, fair grounds, a market square, truck farming, and suburban expansion. [116]

Council appropriated $8,500 for further study of the plans, Mr. Gibbs and Mr. von Aueberg planned a series of lectures based on the plan, and 2000 copies of the report were to be printed. [117] Little developed from this as the City's economic and financial circumstances declined. Nothing more was heard of the Morell and Nichols plan!

Mayor Armstrong of Edmonton was Vice-President of the Alberta section of the National Housing and Town Planning Association in 1912. This Association had been discussed at a conference in Winnipeg, to which the mayor had been one of the City's delegates. The Association was described at the 1913 annual meeting of the Commission of Conservation as follows: "although it was called a national meeting, it was not large enough nor representative enough to be so designated." [118] But, no matter what the status of the organization or of Mr. Armstrong's position, he succeeded in promoting a town planning conference in Edmonton in November 1912. [119] It was soon billed as the "Alberta Housing and Town Planning Congress," with representatives from prairie towns and cities, provincial governments and interested planners from elsewhere. Among the presentations was one, by Anthony Morell, of the plan for Edmonton, entitled "Edmonton the Beautiful Beautified," and another dealing with town planning legislation. [120] This latter session led to a decision to "submit at the next session of the legislature a housing and town planning act patterned on

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[115]City of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, f7 11 July 1912.
[116]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 6 August 1912; and
City Commissioners' Report, 1 November 1912;
Edmonton Journal, 19 November 1912, pp. 1,19.
[117]City of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Records, A74-34, f1 8 January 1913.
[118]Commission of Conservation, Canada, 4th Annual Meeting, 1913, pp. 4,5.
[119]*Edmonton Journal*, 11 October 1912, pp. 1,3, 26 October 1912, pp. 4,24.
[120]*Edmonton Journal*, 26 October 1912, p. 24.

the one passed by the British parliament in 1909 and others of the same model passed by New Brunswick and Nova Scotia." [121]

Within four months the *Act Relating to Town Planning* was passed. [122] The Alberta Housing and Town Planning Association with several influential officers was in operation, distributing copies of the Act to interested parties. [123] The *Town Planning Act* had proceeded quickly through the Legislature, within five months of members of the association circulating copies of the New Brunswick legislation in Calgary.

Little was accomplished on the local scene in Edmonton. The City maintained its membership in the Alberta Housing and Town Planning Association and sent members to provincial conferences. [124] At the urging of the Commission of Conservation, it briefly considered taking the "preliminary steps to prepare a town planning scheme under the Alberta Act relating to town planning," and went so far as to consider having a commission and naming the ten commissioners; but, eventually Council retreated by striking the item from its agenda. [125] This attempt was followed by a "Provisional Committee to investigate and report" about town planning, but it did nothing that has been recorded. [126]

Alberta may have had a provincial *Town Planning Act*, but by 1924 it had no provincial staff, nor had any town or city proceeded to carry out any planning efforts under the Act. [127] The closest that Edmonton came to town planning was to note, in 1924, that because of the cancellation of many subdivision plans and because the city owned much land in the outlying areas:

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[121] *Edmonton Journal*, 16 November 1912, pp. 1-2.
[122] Henry Marshall Tory Collection, University of Alberta Archives, 68-9-388, 18 March 1913.
[123] The Association's letterhead listed the following officers: President, Ex-Mayor Armstrong, Edmonton; First Vice-President, Ex-Mayor Mitchell, Calgary; Second Vice-President, Paul von Aueberg, Edmonton Parks Superintendent; Secretary-Treasurer, G.W. Lemon, Calgary Planning Commission; Honorary Presidents, H.M. Tory, Edmonton and W. Pearce, Calgary; Patrons, Lieutenant Governor Bulyea, Premier A.L. Sifton and C.E. Michener.
[124] City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 2 June 1914, 9 July 1914.
[125] City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 25 July 1916, 8 September 1916, 19 September 1916, 28 November 1916.
[126] City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 17 February 1917.
[127] "Edmonton," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* 6 (December 1927): 201, citing *Town Planning*, 1924.

> the opportunity presents itself for launching out in a town planning scheme with a view to correcting some of the errors made during the "boom days." [128]

The preparation of the zoning plan for Edmonton was reported in 1926 "to put into effect a scheme which will promote an orderly growth and development." [129]

Urged on by the local Council of Women to appoint a civic planning committee in 1927, City Council established a Town Planning Committee from among its members. [130] The committee promptly recommended a list of over 30 organizations which should be consulted regarding town planning. [131] That group, with its broad representation, met in October, with Alderman Gibbs being appointed chairman. This was the same Mr. Gibbs who had "kept the need of careful planning for the future before the citizens for so many years." and who later became the chairman of the provincial Town and Rural Planning Advisory Board. [132] The object of the Association was "to promote all matters appertaining to town planning in the City of Edmonton and in particular to act in an advisory capacity to the Council of the City of Edmonton in all such matters as may be referred to it by Council." [133] The Association was divided into four sections: Transportation, Zoning and Building Restrictions, etc., Parks and Boulevards, and Civic Details to address such projects as a scenic driveway, a local roadway and the civic center. The Association dealt with projects on a piecemeal basis, not in terms of preparing a comprehensive plan.

As the provincial town planning legislation was changed, to give cities and towns the power to appoint a Town Planning Commission, and with the urging of Horace Seymour, the provincial Director of Town Planning, Edmonton responded by appointing the Edmonton Town Planning Commission. [134] However, the Commission retained the Town Planning

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[128]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report, 16 February 1924, p. 7.
[129]"Zoning Plan for Edmonton," *Construction*, August 1926, p. 236.
[130]City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 23 May 1927, 13 June 1927.
[131]City of Edmonton, City Commissioners' Report #32, 27 June 1927;
City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 27 June 1927.
[132]*Edmonton Journal*, 6 October 1927, p. 4; and
H.L. Seymour, "The Province as a Planning Unit," *Journal of Town Planning Institute* 8 (June 1929): 62.
[133] *Edmonton Journal*, 5 October 1927, p. 2.
[134]City of Edmonton Archives, RG11 C25 f3 21 February 1929;
City of Edmonton, Minutes of City Council, 31 May 1929, 24 June 1929, 8 July

Association as an advisory body. [135] By late 1930, the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* reported that the preliminary studies were completed and progress was being made on other studies for planning in Edmonton. [136]

Summary and Analysis

By 1930, the park and playground services (the product) established in Edmonton included 20 park sites, land in the valleys of the river and ravines and three playgrounds supervised by a service club. Park management was handled by the Engineering Department acting under City Council's direction. Several sites throughout the city were leased to Community Leagues for their use and to develop as recreation properties. Municipal responsibilities were limited to managing some parks and swimming pools. Planning efforts were being undertaken by the Town Planning Commission which was working on a planning scheme.

The process of park and playground development began over 90 years after the townsite of Edmonton was established in 1802. No parks were designated in early townsite surveys of either Edmonton or Strathcona, but Edmonton's town council began efforts to purchase park land in 1893. In this early attempt to acquire part of the Hudson Bay Reserve in Edmonton, Council recognized the economic impact that a park might have on the surrounding property, but the success of the acquisition effort is uncertain.

The four elements of the interpretive framework of public policy making, namely ideology, environment, distribution of power and rational decision making, can assist in explaining the development of parks and playgrounds in Edmonton between 1893 and 1930.

The prevailing ideas associated with urban reform and civic boosterism were abundantly evident in Edmonton. In contrast to other cities in the study where there was either no action regarding organization for parks and playgrounds, or where there was action, but no link to rhetoric and contemporary ideas, this link can be found in Edmonton. Key

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[134](cont'd) 1929, 22 July 1929.
[135]City of Edmonton Archives, RG11 C25 f5 22 October 1929.
[136]"Edmonton Town Planning Commission," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* 9 (October 1930): 108.

advocates of a parks organization were R.B. Chadwick and the *Edmonton Evening Journal*. The newspaper rhetoric was based on booster sentiments, that such an organization would be evidence of a forward moving city and that such bodies have been created elsewhere with positive results. Mr. Chadwick's statements focussed, not upon the booster spirit, but on the social value of parks.

The Parks Commission, which was established in 1911, was given a very broad mandate which included responsibility for parks, playgrounds and planning. To implement the Commission's recommendations about parks and facilities, a Parks Department was created in 1912. Due to financial restraint and the department's non-revenue producing nature, it was abolished in 1913, recreated in 1913, and then abolished again in 1914. Thus, the early political efforts of the groups and individuals were thwarted by economic conditions.

On other occasions, the reform and booster ideas expressed in Edmonton considered parks as a means of increasing health and morals, and decreasing crime; of increasing property values; of contributing to beautification and betterment; and of promoting the City.

Assistance was given to local parks and playgrounds supporters by plans created by Frederick Todd in 1907 and by Morell and Nichols in 1912, and by speakers such as the Dunnington-Grubbs in 1911. The assistance, however, did not lead to any accepted, implemented plan.

The development of playgrounds in Edmonton can be related to the work of one individual, R.B. Chadwick. Although his promotion of supervised playgrounds in 1911 and 1912 was not immediately fruitful, it laid the groundwork for later work. In both 1920 and 1921, several community groups attempted to organize a City Recreation Commission and to convince Council to hire a staff person. Neither effort succeeded and Council threw the matter back to the volunteer groups. The volunteer bodies which responded were the Federation of Community Leagues and the Gyro Club. The Federation of Community Leagues sought and received city land to establish recreation spaces in their communities; while the Gyro Club sponsored supervised playgrounds in the city from 1923 to 1951, with some financial and logistical assistance from the City.

The ideology explanation contributes substantially to understanding the development of the first key organization dealing with parks and playground, the Parks Commission, but contributes little explanation for the establishment and development of park and playground sites.

The explanation of policy making focusing on the environment, particularly the physical, political and economic environment, also contributes substantial explanations. While the physical environment had an impact on the development of parks and playgrounds in other cities, either because of the need to amend the situation wherein nature had not been bountiful, or to recognize the resources in city's where she had, in Edmonton and Strathcona efforts went beyond recognizing features such as the river valley to deliberate efforts to reserve river valley and ravine lands. It could be a point of debate as to whether these lands were reserved for aesthetic and environmental reasons or solely because they were unsuitable for development and therefore uneconomical to develop. However, in the 24 years between the first mention of this idea in Todd's plan of 1907, and 1931, 79 percent of the city's public park land was acquired in the river valleys and ravines.

The political environment in which the City of Edmonton existed provided some explanation of park and playground development - particularly in the development of organizations. Within the City Council, debate took place regarding the type of parks which the City would acquire, particularly whether the parks should be central to the downtown or distributed throughout the city. As well, early efforts by Edmonton Town Council to acquire parks were marked by questions as to whether the Council had any authority to do so. Even if the desire to develop parks was present, there were institutional barriers. Thus, when property became available, a solution was for the aldermen to purchase the properties themselves and hold them in trust until the burgesses could vote on the money bylaw at a later date.

Pressure from outside City Council, particularly from the newspaper and from R.B. Chadwick, can be linked to the Council's decision to establish a Parks Commission which eventually took on a broad mandate. As well as the two mentioned, a number of other individuals and interest groups were active in the organization of the Parks Commission. The

beginning of concerted efforts to create a Parks Commission, to promote supervised playgrounds and to encourage city planning were very much interrelated and revolved around the work of R.B. Chadwick and C.L. Gibbs in 1911. Chadwick urged City Council to establish a Parks Commission, which it did (and of which he was a founding member.) He also corresponded with and gave lectures to the local Council of Women, providing it with information about supervised playgrounds, which was used to prepare a resolution from the Council of Women to City Council. Mr. Gibbs headed a committee of the Board of Trade in preparing and distributing a report on civic planning in other progressive cities.

Comprehensive city planning efforts in the 1910's were tied in with the work of the Parks Commission. A Committee on Housing and Civic Planning was formed in 1912 to gather information on housing and planning. Council hired Morell and Nichols as planning consultants, but, as in other cities, when the plan arrived financial conditions did not permit its implementation.

Influences on Edmonton planning activities came from both inside and outside the City Council. Significant efforts on the provincial scene were led by Edmonton planners as they sponsored the first conference of the Alberta Housing and Town Planning Association. However, the City of Edmonton then did little to carry out any activities under the *Alberta Town Planning Act*, which was prepared and passed by the Legislature following the conference.

Not until 1927 did the City appoint a Civic Planning Committee, chaired by C.L. Gibbs, with representation from over 30 local organizations. However, this association dealt with projects on a piecemeal basis, rather than preparing a comprehensive plan. That task was not undertaken until the City appointed the Town Planning Commission under new provincial legislation in 1929.

As in other cities, the economic environment was the key to both positive and negative aspects of the development of parks and playgrounds in Edmonton. The strong economic climate and relatively high municipal revenues in the early 1910's made it possible to form the Parks Commission, the Parks Department, and acquire land, even from subdivision

developments. But, by 1913, the Department was abolished due to its not being a revenue producer, although it was briefly recreated that same year. All sections of the City's administrative efforts were subject to "rigid economy," including the completion of the Morell and Nichols plan and the development of playgrounds.

As a result of the recession and the large amount of land for which property taxes had not been paid, the City had access to land throughout its area to use as park and playground space. Thus, in cooperation with the Federation of Community Leagues and the Gyro Club, local parks and playgrounds were located and operated throughout the city on land reserved from tax sale.

The social environment, while in the background of all discussions of growing cities, did not contribute to substantial efforts concerning parks and playgrounds in Edmonton. The single mention of a "social" reason for the need to undertake planning in Edmonton was the rationale given in 1929 for planning as a means to correct errors made during the boom years.

Groups representing powerful economic interests or with access to such powerful interests in Edmonton were the Board of Trade, the Canadian Club, the Council of Women and to a lesser degree the Gyro Club (it was a service club, rather than a business organization).

Two interest groups, the Board of Trade and the Canadian Club, were active in early planning efforts. Responding to a Board of Trade resolution and urged on by the *Edmonton Bulletin* in 1906, Edmonton hired Frederick Todd, a expert from Montreal, to prepare a general scheme for the city. Todd also worked for the provincial government and for Strathcona. While little was done by Edmonton's elected officials to implement the Todd plan, the Canadian Club provided a forum for its discussion and encouraged private citizens to undertake horticultural improvements.

Four groups played substantial roles in the development of parks, playgrounds and planning in Edmonton - the Board of Trade, the Local Council of Women, the Canadian Club and the Gyro Club. Of these, the first two groups were the most influential in terms of being advocates for parks, playgrounds and planning. However, the fourth group, the Gyro

Club, took on the most responsibilities, by providing funds to establish and supervise playgrounds from 1923 to 1951.

The Board of Trade urged City Council to secure land for parks in 1905, even though Council apparently was already working on the idea. It approached Council again in 1906 to advocate preparation of a comprehensive scheme, and the resulting discussions led to the hiring of F.G. Todd. In mid-1911, the Board's report on civic planning and the follow-up work by C.L. Gibbs, in combination with the work of R.B. Chadwick, led to the creation of the Parks Commission. Gibbs continued to be involved in planning through 1927.

In 1911, the Local Council of Women took up the task of promoting supervised playgrounds that had been part of the National organization's program since 1901. Led by Emily Murphy, it petitioned City Council regarding supervised playgrounds and attempted to have representation on the Parks Commission in 1912. In addition, the Council of Women was part of the group organizing a Recreation Commission in 1921.

While it is difficult to separate the efforts of individuals and groups in 1911 and 1912, their combined efforts produced the Parks Commission, a planning study and attempts to provide supervised playgrounds. The support of the Board of Trade was probably the most influential, when combined with the individual efforts of C.L. Gibbs, R.B. Chadwick, and to a lesser extent, Emily Murphy. In later years, after the urging of the Council of Women, the broadly based Town Planning Commission was formed, again with the leadership of C.L. Gibbs. Even though the role of the Board of Trade and the Council of Women is consistent with that taken by those groups in other cities, it was the efforts of two individuals who acted as catalysts in the early (and in one case, late) years which were most substantial.

Rational decision-making provides little explanation for the the development of parks and playgrounds in Edmonton. While the spirit of rational decision-making may have underlain all planning efforts, only in 1911 was it noted at the Board of Trade meeting, that the purpose for which planning was to be done was to adequately provide for development, by forming a planning organization and creating a plan to form the basis of future improvements. Most development, with the exception of ravines and river lands, occurred not

as the result of rational decision making, but rather in response to individual efforts and the external environment.

Consistent with the pattern noted in other cities, external economic circumstances and the power of some individuals and groups were the most significant determinants of park and playground establishment and development, particularly when combined with the impact of the physical environment, the river valley and the ravines, in both Edmonton and Strathcona.

IV. COMPARISONS AND SUMMARIES

INTRODUCTION

In order to complete the analysis of the four prairie cities in the study, it was necessary to proceed to comparisons of the cities: first, within Saskatchewan and Alberta, the provinces that were established in 1905; and then, between those two provinces. Table 1 showed the populations of each of these prairie cities from 1871 to 1931, the dates when each achieved village, town and city status, as well as the dates when the provinces entered Confederation. These comparisons were undertaken in order to determine if there were any substantial commonalities in the patterns of development of parks and playgrounds and the roles played by particular individuals and interest groups, acting either alone or in alliances.

As noted earlier, the phrase *pattern of development* includes the notions of *process and product* to explain the development of parks and playground services:

Through what *process* did each city move in initiating and implementing park and playground services?

What was the end *product*? That is, what services were in place in each city by 1930?

The term *services* has been defined as parks and playgrounds provided and supported totally or partially by the municipal government in each city.

The roles of particular individuals or interest groups, acting either alone or in alliances, were included in the *process* of developing services - specifically, in terms of the promotion of an issue either before or after it was recognized by the municipal decision-makers. In the study individuals, groups and local newspapers were considered as promoters of particular issues.

The organizations formed to deal with parks, playgrounds and planning could be part of both the *process* and the *product*. An organization would be part of the *process* when it was formed to be one of the advocates for a particular issue. An organization could be part of the *product* if it was established as a result of deliberations by municipal decision-makers who desired to provide particular services. The mere establishment of an organization, however, did not guarantee that parks or playgrounds or planning services would be provided or that

human or financial resources were available. Thus, even if an organization is part of the product, it may be seen as only one stage in the product.

The process of initiating and implementing services could include the following actions:

recognition, acceptance and promotion of an issue by an individual, interest group or newspaper

WHICH COULD LEAD TO

formation of a community based advocacy organization

AND/OR

recognition of an issue by municipal decision-makers

WHICH LED TO

discussion of the issue by decision makers and either adoption or rejection of a policy to pursue a deliberately chosen course of action (or inaction)

OR

action without any policy decision

WHICH LED TO

product (or lack of it): parks or playgrounds or

organizations to supply services

The distinction between policy output (what is done) and policy outcome (the consequences for society), presented earlier in Part II, Framework, provides assistance in explaining process and product. Policy output could include adoption or rejection of a policy to pursue a deliberately chosen course of action, which is part of process. Policy outcome includes the product, parks and playgrounds and/or organizations to supply services, as well as the more difficult to measure, consequences to society, such as changes in living conditions or quality of life which may have resulted from the provision of such opportunities.

A. REGINA AND SASKATOON

The two cities in Saskatchewan developed with different functions and on very different geographic bases. These differences affected the development of the respective park systems. Regina, on a flat treeless plain with few of nature's gifts, had aspirations of being a grand capital and emphasized civic beautification on park lands that were transferred from the Dominion Government. Saskatoon, on a treed site around a river valley, proceeded more slowly with fewer grand intentions, acquiring parks which could also serve as sites for the fair grounds and for a railway river crossing.

Regina's parks were managed by a committee of Council, as numerous efforts to establish a semi-autonomous Parks Board or Commission failed. Saskatoon established its Parks Commission in 1908. This operated with the aid of provincial legislation, The *Saskatoon Public Parks Act* of 1912, which defined its duties and gave it access to a maximum mill rate, subject to Council's approval.

In both cities, comprehensive city plans were begun in 1913. Regina commissioned a planner of international reputation, T.H. Mawson, for its plan and received the preliminary plan ten years later. Saskatoon's plan was prepared quickly by its City Commissioner, C.J. Yorath. Each city was urged to carry out these planning efforts by local groups. In Regina it was the City Planning Association, with the support of the Mayor. In Saskatoon it was the Parks Board which wanted the city to do some work "along the lines of modern Town Planning." Soon after each plan was begun, economic conditions changed and the assumptions of growth and prosperity were no longer appropriate.

The cities treated the planning of parks and playgrounds differently. Regina included parks and playgrounds within its comprehensive scheme. Saskatoon hired the Minneapolis consultants Morell and Nichols, to plan its parks and parkways. This was a separate exercise from Commissioner Yorath's comprehensive plan.

Although both cities had urged the provincial government to enact town planning legislation, neither city responded quickly to the 1917 Saskatchewan *Town Planning and Rural Development Act*. The Act required cities to adopt development bylaws or a development

scheme by the end of 1920, but only Saskatoon took the initial steps. Even Saskatoon's preliminary steps stopped when its designated development engineer, Commissioner Yorath, left the City's employ to work in Edmonton. Regina did not seek authority under the Act to adopt development bylaws or a development scheme. Rather, at the instigation of the Board of Trade, it formed an advisory Town Planning Association in 1922, which evolved into the city's Town Planning Board in 1924 and Town Planning Commission in 1930. Saskatoon was slower (at least in the initial stages), finally creating a Town Planning Board similar to Regina's in 1927 and a Town Planning Commission in 1929. Under the Provincial *Town Planning Act* of 1928, the Town Planning Commissions were to act in an advisory capacity to council in town planning matters, to prepare a zoning bylaw and to prepare a town planning scheme.

The comprehensive city planning efforts gave each city little to add to the process and product of municipal parks development. More useful efforts were made in each city when parks were proposed, and in Regina's case developed, on Railway property, or when land was acquired to serve a particular local area such as the Northern Park in Regina in 1908 or land near Hill's Factory in Saskatoon in 1907 and the six sites purchased in that city in 1911-12.

Each city acquired land to aid in access to water. Regina did this early in its development when it acquired the Reservoir (now Wascana) Park. Saskatoon was later in acquiring river frontage, beginning in 1907, an island in the river in 1911, and river bank land beginning in 1919.

The most substantial park land acquisitions were made when each city became the owner of properties for which property taxes had not been paid. In both Regina and Saskatoon, as responses to the perceived demand for parks distributed throughout the cities and recognizing the available supply of land, parcels were designated as parks and added to the system.

The establishment of supervised playgrounds in Regina occurred much earlier and with the participation of more community organizations than in Saskatoon. Through the efforts of the Y.M.C.A., the School Board and the Regina Council of Women, with funds from City

Council, the Regina Playgrounds Association operated from 1912 to 1914. Beginning in 1920, the Regina Playgrounds Commission supervised both playgrounds and extensive recreation opportunities. In contrast, it was not until 1918 that supervised playgrounds were operated in Saskatoon by the Citizens Educational League and then, after a ten year break, as an experiment by the Kinsmen Club, beginning in 1928. Despite its later start, however, Saskatoon developed a very comprehensive approach to managing playground and recreation activities in 1930, when the Playground Association was established with broad community representation including a member with experience in the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association. The Association hired its first full-time staff member, George Ward, in 1930. In contrast, Regina's first full-time staff member was hired eight years later, in 1938.

The two interest groups which had some involvement in parks and playgrounds in both cities were the local Board of Trade and the local Council of Women. In Regina, both groups were substantially involved. The Board of Trade, which supported parks and playgrounds, was most active in its promotion of broader planning matters. The Council of Women's role was primarily a supporting one for specific projects such as the organization and funding of supervised playgrounds. An example of the contrasting but complementary roles of these two groups was their involvement in the formation of the Town Planning Association. Apparently, the Board of Trade instigated the Association, while the Council of Women was one of the organizations represented at the formative meetings. In Saskatoon, both groups were involved, but to a limited degree. In that city, individuals in both appointed and elected capacities often were more active than groups. Rev. E.B. Smith promoted parks and playgrounds from 1908 to 1923. Commissioner Yorath dominated the city administration from 1913 to 1922 as an administrator and planner. Alderman Underwood and Professor MacKenzie worked with the Town Planning Board and Commission. Aldermen Mills and Pinder were instrumental in promoting and forming the Playgrounds Association which took on broader recreation-related responsibilities.

B. CALGARY AND EDMONTON

The two cities in Alberta were established to serve different functions. Edmonton served the northern fur and gold rush trade, while Calgary served the southern cattle industry. Both cities were affected by the arrival (or nonarrival) of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Edmonton hoped for the railway line, but Calgary received it. Calgary achieved town and city status first, as its population grew faster in conjunction with its role as a railway and commercial center.

There were no parks designated on early townsite plans for either Calgary or Edmonton. Thus, each city made deliberate efforts to acquire park land. Calgary's financial outlay for its first parks was minimal as it arranged for transfers of land from the Dominion Government. Edmonton first purchased land from the Hudson's Bay Company, which was used for the exhibition rather than as a park, and then eventually purchased two parcels from private developers in advance of the subdivisions being sold for housing.

Each city was visited by Frederick G. Todd, a Montreal landscape architect. His primary purpose for visiting Alberta was to undertake work for the provincial government on the legislative grounds area in Edmonton. However, he contacted Calgary seeking consulting work. He was also engaged by Edmonton after the City was urged by the Board of Trade to engage in civic beautification. For Edmonton and Strathcona, Todd prepared narrative plans with recommendations for setting aside certain types of parks with little guidance as to specific sites. Todd's planning work for Calgary was not completed due to a misunderstanding about the city's authorization (or lack thereof) to commission his work.

Both cities established an appointed Parks Board or Commission, but they had different beginnings, responsibilities and endings. The Calgary Parks Board was established in 1909 by City Council, seemingly without the promotion of any individuals or interest groups. In Edmonton, one individual, R.B. Chadwick, was very vocal, using his own persuasive words and deeds, as well as working through other groups to promote the establishment of a Parks Commission (in 1911) and supervised playgrounds.

The duties of the Calgary Parks Board were poorly defined - a situation which led to dissatisfaction on the part of both the Board and the aldermen. This situation resulted in the Board's enabling legislation being revoked and its abolition in 1912.

The Edmonton Parks Commission perceived its mandate as being very broad, including parks, boulevards, drives and public places as well as city planning and civic centre projects. Although there was no evident dissatisfaction with the Commission's work, it was not reappointed by Council after 1912. This may have been the result of reductions in spending which struck hardest at non revenue-producing departments of the city administration.

Edmonton's city planning efforts in the 1910's were carried out by the Parks Commission which hired Morell and Nichols of Minneapolis to prepare a general plan. The decline of municipal funding early in 1913 led to the production of only a preliminary plan. Calgary, on the other hand, was still able to hire T.H. Mawson in 1913 and to receive and pay for his report in 1914; but, the City was unable to muster human or financial resources to implement any elements of the plan. Earlier, subdivision dedication bylaws were passed in each city with limited impact upon the usable park lands available to the residents.

Although both cities were involved in the Alberta Housing and Town Planning Association conference in 1912, and thus contributed to the creation of the Alberta *Town Planning Act* of 1913, neither city took action to carry out provisions of the Act. In 1927, Edmonton Council appointed a Commission to promote and advise regarding town planning but did not prepare a comprehensive town plan. Two years later, after a new Alberta *Town Planning Act* was passed, the cities were authorized to appoint Town Planning Commissions to promote and prepare municipal plans and to hire staff. Both Calgary and Edmonton appointed their Commissions in 1929.

The various planning efforts and site selection committees produced very few new park lands. However, both cities began to reserve tax sale lands for park purposes early in the 1920's. Calgary's policy, beginning in 1922, resulted in the doubling of the number of park sites in the city during that decade. Edmonton reserved tax sale land and turned parcels over

to local community leagues for use for their recreation purposes throughout the 1920's.

Both cities established supervised playground programs. Edmonton's R.B. Chadwick promoted the establishment of supervised playgrounds using direct approaches to City Council and indirect approaches through the local Council of Women. The Parks Commission, of which he was a member, made some steps toward achieving his goals before funding diminished in 1913. After the city rejected the notion of a Recreation Commission and a staff person, the local Gyro Club took over the establishment and supervision of children's playgrounds, beginning in 1923. Calgary's supervised playground program started in 1917 when the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. promoted and assisted with supervised playgrounds. The City Parks Department took over complete responsibility in 1920. Edmonton, however, did not take this step until 1944 when the Recreation Commission was established.

In both Edmonton and Calgary, the Board of Trade and the local Council of Women were active, but their involvement and activity levels varied. In Calgary, the Board of Trade made representations soon after the formation of the Parks Commission in 1909 and became somewhat involved in promoting planning in 1916, with limited results. The Calgary Horticultural Society seems to have been more involved and vocal. The Calgary Council of Women was not very active. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. were intensely involved in promoting and supervising playgrounds - a role that the Council of Women played in other Canadian cities. Several individuals were frequently present and vocal in Calgary, particularly William Pearce and Rev. Dean Paget. It is difficult to measure the impact that particularly vocal, letter-writing individuals such as Mr. Pearce had, as the novelty of his continued contributions may have worn off with time.

Edmonton's groups and individuals included the Board of Trade, Council of Women, the Gyro Club, C.L. Gibbs and R.B. Chadwick. The exhortations of the two individuals were frequently channelled through the interest groups. The Board of Trade made repeated approaches to Council (in 1905, 1906 and 1911) promoting parks and planning. The Council of Women was less involved, although present in the playground and recreation matters in 1911-12 and 1921. The Gyro Club took on the most responsibilities, as it provided funds to

establish and supervise playgrounds. While the first two groups (the Board of Trade and the Council of Women) were present and vocal, it seems that individuals, using the groups, may have been the most effective influences on parks, playgrounds and planning.

C. SASKATCHEWAN AND ALBERTA

It was originally expected that as part of the study there would be substantial differences between the cities in Saskatchewan and those in Alberta. However, there does not seem to be any consistent pattern of development within each province that makes one considerably different from the other. Rather, there are more common features than contrasting ones. Some, but not many, commonalities existed between the two cities in each province, often as the result of provincial legislation. Other commonalities existed between the two cities on the Canadian Pacific Railway line which was established in the mid 1880's. Additional common features come from the cities' geographic settings, from the presence of outside planners, and from the common contacts among individuals in each city.

Regina and Calgary had townsite plans laid out and controlled for the most part by the Dominion Government and the C.P.R. Both Regina and Calgary were able to acquire park land through transfers from the Dominion Government. These two cities were located on sites which required tree planting and imaginative use of water resources, although Calgary had substantially more water and vegetation resources with which to work. Saskatoon and Edmonton, situated on larger rivers, made attempts at some point in their development to acquire land along the rivers. But all four cities used water as a major feature in their civic beautification - such as Reservoir (Wascana) Lake in Regina, the Bow and Elbow River Islands in Calgary, Yorath Island in Saskatoon, and "Big Island" in Edmonton. Both provincial capitals located their legisiative buildings overlooking a body of water.

All cities considered or developed a park at the main railway station in the town or city. Regina and Calgary, on the C.P.R. line, made the first efforts and developed parks which would provide visitors with positive impressions of the city. Saskatoon and Edmonton considered the development of their railway sites, but little development occurred.

Three of the cities established a Parks Board or Commission to plan and manage the park system. The exception was Regina, whose City Councils repeatedly would not give up any powers to an appointed body.

Three of the four cities became involved in local beautification and practical gardening through the use of vacant lots or undeveloped parks for gardens. Edmonton did not seem to have vacant lot gardening. Instead, it leased vacant park land for grazing, a use which was perhaps not quite as aesthetically pleasing, but very practical.

Each city was assisted in its planning efforts by outside planning experts, although local advocates often began the work to hire such experts and attempted to carry on after the consultants' plans arrived. In 1906-07 Frederick G. Todd did at least preliminary planning work in Regina, Calgary and Edmonton. In the 1912-13 period Regina hired T.H. Mawson, but Col. Garner and the Town Planning Association continued the work. Calgary also hired Mawson, but W. Pearce and Rev. Dean Paget worked locally. Saskatoon hired Morell and Nichols for park planning, but had City Commissioner Yorath prepare its comprehensive plan. Yorath and Rev. E.B. Smith continued the local work. Edmonton hired Morell and Nichols, but C.L. Gibbs carried on until the late 1920's. In each city, the local advocates appear to have made more substantial, continuing contributions than the imported consultants. The local newspapers in all four cities made major contributions to the distribution of the rhetoric in support of parks, playgrounds and planning issues.

The Alberta Housing and Town Planning Association was created primarily for Alberta planners. Its first conference in 1912 produced sufficient interest in a provincial town planning act that a document, very similar to the one discussed at the conference, was passed in the Alberta Legislature four months later, in March 1913. Planners from other provinces were invited to attend and present papers - for example, C.J. Yorath of Saskatoon presented a paper, "Housing and Town Planning," at the 1914 conference.

In three of the four cities, the issues of parks, playgrounds and planning were advocated and considered separately, even though some individuals were common to all, and there were some "crossover" themes, such as park planning, which were intertwined. The

exception was Edmonton, where two individuals, C.L. Gibbs and R.B. Chadwick, working partly with the Board of Trade, successfully encouraged Council to create a Parks Commission which took on all three issues as part of its short-lived mandate.

Each province passed town planning legislation during the 1910's and repealed that legislation, creating what was hoped to be more up-to-date, usable legislation, in the late 1920's. The Alberta *Town Planning Act* was passed in March 1913 soon after the Alberta Housing and Town Planning Association conference in Edmonton. However, neither Edmonton nor Calgary adopted a plan under the legislation. Although the cities in Saskatchewan discussed legislation in 1914, the Saskatchewan *Town Planning Act* was not passed until 1917, at which time Regina declared that the Act was "radical," "hastily prepared" and "inimical to the Cities' interests," while Saskatoon delayed as long as possible before requesting authority to carry out any planning.

Revised legislation was passed in Saskatchewan in 1928 and in Alberta in both 1928 and 1929. The Saskatchewan legislation was to replace an Act that had been touted as being very fine, but had proved to be less so. As the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* noted, "the original Act . . . does not seem to have justified the high expectations of its efficiency which were entertained by onlookers and by this Journal." [1] The 1928 *Town Planning and Preservation of Natural Beauty Act* for Alberta was promoted by Premier Brownlee as part of his campaign to beautify the province through town planning, rural development and provincial park creation. Brownlee's leadership is acknowledged by most authors. Although it is somewhat difficult to determine what specific event sparked his interest, it is generally accepted that on his return from a trip to Europe in 1927 he was very vocal in his promotion of rural beautification and town planning. When Horace Seymour of Vancouver contacted the Edmonton City Commissioner requesting information about the job as provincial planning advisor, he was advised to contact Mr. Brownlee himself as "he more probably than anyone else will be likely to dominate the situation." [2]

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[1] "New Town Planning Act for Saskatchewan," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* 7 (April 1928): 51.
[2] City of Edmonton Archives, RG11 C25/2 28 June 1928.

In both provinces the cities quickly acted to follow the new legislation. In Saskatchewan, Saskatoon formed a Town Planning Commission in 1929, while Regina did so in 1930. In Alberta, both Calgary and Edmonton formed their Town Planning Commissions in 1929.

Comprehensive planning efforts did not provide the cities with park land. Rather, each city used a very pragmatic approach to park land acquisition in the 1920's. All four cities used land which had reverted to them because the owners had defaulted in the payment of their property taxes, after the boom and inflated land prices of the 1910's was followed by the depression of 1913 and the war years. Each city provided for local parks from the supply of vacant, city-owned land at its disposal. On occasion, internal financial transfers took place between the parks organization and the civic unit holding the land; but even in these cases the land was quite inexpensive. In three of the cities, the municipal government then assumed responsibility for land development. In Edmonton this responsibility was given to the community leagues. Edmonton also used such land to reserve from future use large portions of its ravines and river valleys.

In three of the cities the rhetoric promoting the development and supervision of playgrounds began in the late 1900's. In Regina, limited support came from the ***Regina Morning Leader***. In Calgary, the ***Calgary Herald*** began promoting playgrounds in 1909 with quotes from the Playgrounds Association of America. In Edmonton, R.B.Chadwick and the Council of Women began their involvement in 1911. Little was done in Saskatoon with the exception of one newspaper editorial, "The Child's Right to Play," in 1907.

Each city responded differently to the exhortations to action. Regina and Calgary established Playground Associations - Regina in 1912 and Calgary in 1917. In 1920, Regina established a Playgrounds Commission, while in Calgary the playgrounds came under the responsibility of the Parks Department. In Saskatoon and Edmonton, service clubs were initially responsible for supervised playgrounds. Edmonton's Gyro Club began its 28 year involvement with playgrounds in 1923. The Kinsmen Club of Saskatoon began its two year experiment with supervised playgrounds in 1928, ten years after the Citizens Educational

League had made a very brief attempt in 1918. Saskatoon's playgrounds were soon taken over by the Playgrounds Association

There is no clear interprovincial or north/south distinction between the involvement of local groups. The Board of Trade was active in Regina and Calgary and most apparent in Edmonton. In Calgary, the local Horticultural Society was also very vocal about planning, possibly as the result of two of its members, Pearce and Paget. The Council of Women supported playgrounds slightly in Regina and Edmonton and even less in Saskatoon. The Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s were very involved in playgrounds in Regina and, particularly, in Calgary. Support may have come from the Council of Women, but the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. had the staff who could carry out the actual playground supervision.

At least two factors led to success in the various groups' interest in parks, playgrounds and planning. Being articulate, with access to and the support of the local newspaper was helpful; but of more help was quick access to the municipal decision-makers. For example, in Edmonton, a motion passed by the Board of Trade in November 1905 was sent to the Mayor, received and discussed by Council in a three day period; the Board's call for beautification of the city in 1906 was taken up by the ***Edmonton Bulletin***, followed by a meeting with F.G. Todd and the awarding of a commission to him - all in 4 1/2 weeks. Consistently, in each city the Board of Trade had good access to the municipal decision-makers and used it when necessary. The Board of Trade's influence found in this research is consistent with that noted in Bloomfield's review of the various Canadian Boards' roles in urban development, including the promotion of planning schemes. [3]

Table 2, which follows, summarizes the events, group and individuals which contributed to both process and product for each of the cities. Integration of the process and product information into the interpretive framework will be undertaken in Part V, Conclusions and Explanations.

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[3]E. Bloomfield, "Boards of Trade and Canadian Urban Development," ***Urban History Review*** 12 (October 1983): 83, 86.

TABLE 2
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PROCESS AND PRODUCT

CITY	PROCESS	PRODUCT
Regina	9 attempts to form parks board	no parks board
	4 park planning exercises	23 park sites and 18 identified
	environmental influences	
	1912-14 Playgrounds Association	1920 Playgrounds Commission 11 supervised playgrounds
	Groups - B of T - support for parks	little impact on product
	- C of W - support for playgrounds	success in forming commission & operation
	Individuals - Davin - promote tree planting	success in civic beautification
	- newspaper editors - support	limited impact on product
Saskatoon	1904 Pressure to form Parks Board	1908 Parks Board formed 1912 Public Parks Act
	2 park planning exercises	22 park sites and 10 being considered
	environmental influences	operated playgrounds briefly
	1918 - Citizens Educational League	1930 Playgrounds Association
	1928-29 Kinsmen Club	operated playgrounds
	Groups - B of T - catalyst	impact on civic beautification
	- C of W - support	limited impact
	Individuals - Willougby advocacy	Parks Board established
	- Smith board member	contribution as board member
	- Yorath administrator & planner	planning begun
	- Mills election platform	Playgrounds Assocation formed
Calgary	uncertainty re: process	1909 Parks Commission formed 1912 Parks Commission dissolved
	4 special committees	32 parks sites
	environment influences	
	1917 Playgrounds Association-assist	1917 Parks Department funded playgrounds 7 supervised playgrounds
	Groups - B of T - support parks and playgrounds	impact in forming 1909 Parks Comm.
	- C of W - not active	
	- YMCA/YWCA - active support	supervision of playgrounds
	- Horticultural Society - parks	limited impact
	Individuals - newspaper editors - support	limited impact on product
	- Pearce-advocacy	4 park sites granted, limited later impact
	- Paget-support	limited impact
Edmonton	1911 pressure to form Parks Commission	1911 Parks Commission established
	Todd plan & Morell - Nichols Plan	20 park sites
	environmental influences	ravines and river valley
	Playgrounds committee	no action
	Groups - B of T - catalyst	impact, Parks Commission established
	- C of W - catalyst	contributed to Parks Commission
	Individuals - Chadwick - advocacy	impact on formation and work of Parks Commission

V. CONCLUSIONS AND EXPLANATIONS

A. URBAN REFORM AND CIVIC BOOSTERISM

Throughout this thesis, detailed descriptions have been given of the patterns of development of parks and playgrounds, and the roles played in this by particular interest groups and individuals in the cities in the study. The three questions posed in part IC, Research Proposition, regarding the advocates and their motives, the policies discussed and adopted, and actions taken were addressed through the descriptions, comparisons and the interpretive framework. This section will consider the central proposition of the study:

that urban reform and civic boosterism were factors which significantly affected the development of parks and playgrounds in prairie cities.

In keeping with the interpretation used earlier, the *pattern of development* of parks and playgrounds includes the notions of *process* and *product*. The study dealt with both the process through which each city moved in initiating and implementing park and playground services and the end product in terms of the services that were created in each city. As noted previously, organizations can be formed to advocate an issue or to provide services, so that organizations may be part of either the product or the process; indeed at times, their roles may evolve from process to product, and even vice versa.

The details of the rhetoric of urban reformers and civic boosters have been presented in an earlier section. Thus, a brief review will suffice here as an introduction to the conclusions.

Urban reform efforts began as a response to what was seen as the "sorry condition of cities." The reform movement and individual reformers carried out attempts to order and improve the urban environment through the creation of, or changes to social welfare, public health, planning and government infrastructure. The creation of municipal parks and supervised playgrounds was promoted as being beneficial to a broad range of recipients: there were to be improvements to the physical and mental health of individuals, to the social welfare of groups and to the physical and economic well-being of the city. Examples of these

promotional claims were found in the records of organizations and newspapers in all cities.

The broad philosophy of civic boosterism is often stated as being the promotion of growth - that to be better, a city must be bigger, not just in size but also in the services which are provided to residents and businesses. To this growth ethic can be added what is a recurring theme in the records of all cities - that each city wanted to follow the lead of other progressive cities, to emulate larger, more established centers and preferably end up ahead, rather than behind, cities in the same size range and at a similar stage of development. Rivalries such as those between Regina and Saskatoon and Calgary and Edmonton developed when particularly desirable public designations or improvements were being sought. Examples of this include the rivalries for designation as the provincial capital or for the provincial university. Frequently, comparisons were made with other cities when boosters were advocating creation of a parks commission or promoting specific park sites.

Throughout the description of events in each city, the "experts from afar" have frequently been present. Their visits in each city ranged from one-night speaking engagements to preparing comprehensive plans over a lengthy period. Consequently, the influence of such experts varied considerably because of both their length of stay and the reputations which they brought with them. In addition to the ideas which they transmitted, the reputation that each expert possessed became a source of booster rhetoric. Few events can be directly attributed to their presence and the cause which they were promoting. However, they did bring to the attention of local reformers and boosters current happenings in other cities which the local residents might consider worthy of emulation. Through the work of local individuals and groups, the imported ideas could be promoted and, occasionally, incorporated into the rhetoric and, even into policies and actions on the local scene.

B. FACTORS AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

The four components of the interpretive framework which has been used to assist in explaining the pattern of development of parks and playgrounds in each city, are ideology, environment, distribution of power and rational decision-making. Table 3, which follows,

summarizes the factors in the interpretive framework, the operation of these key factors in each city in the study, and the conclusions that can be drawn as to which factors supply the strongest explanation for events.

Ideology

The prevailing ideas associated with urban reform, including social welfare, social reform and government reform, and civic boosterism, particularly civic enhancement, which were abundant in each city, were exemplified by rhetoric and by the visits of experts regarding parks and playgrounds. However, the analysis of cities in the study suggests that urban reform and civic boosterism did not substantially affect the development of parks and playgrounds. When the pattern of development is divided into "process" and "product," it becomes apparent that those two factors had a more substantial impact on the process of creating awareness, than they had on the product, the services delivered. Each factor, urban reform and civic boosterism, had an impact on different aspects of the development and on different services. In the section which follows, both the explanatory summary and the tables are presented to review the development of organizations and sites for parks and playgrounds, as well as the organizations for planning and comprehensive plans in each city, by reference to each factor.

In their efforts towards creating parks organizations, numerous examples of urban reform rhetoric were cited in Saskatoon and Edmonton. In Regina, reform rhetoric was cited, but little action was undertaken, while in Calgary, there was little evidence of reform influence, even though a parks organization was formed. There was little evidence of the reform rhetoric being effective in the designation of park sites in any of the case study cities, with the possible exception of Saskatoon, where an attempt was made to locate a park in a residential area near a factory, presumably for the residents of the area who were probably workers at the factory.

Even though the evidence of urban reform ideas on parks and parks organizations was present, the evidence was not overwhelming. Many examples of urban reform rhetoric were

TABLE 3
CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK

STRENGTH OF EXPLANATION	REGINA	SASKATOON	CALGARY	EDMONTON	CONCLUSION
Ideology	parks -organization-9 attempts no success -inventory-little impact playgrounds -organization-success -operation-success	parks -organization-some impact -inventory-little impact playgrounds -organization-some impact, -but late -operation-Kinsman Club -late impact	parks -organization-little impact -inventory-little impact playgrounds -organization-little impact -operation-YMCA/YWCA	parks -organization-impact -inventory-little impact playgrounds -organization impact -operation-Gyro Club	limited impact little impact some impact some impact
Environment Physical Economic Social Political	amend conditions land available crowding & outlying areas role as capital C.P.R. Dominion Park judgement	river valley strict economy & land available little explanation legislation G.T.P.	river valley land available little explanation legislation C.P.R. Dominion Government	river valley & ravines land available little explanation debate re: power H.B.C.	explanation explanation little explanation explanation
Distribution of Power Groups and Individuals	B of T-support C of W-support and $	B of T-catalyst -limited impact C of W-limited impact Willoughby-park organization Smith-park management Yorath-administrator Mills-playground organization	B of T-advococy -success as catalyst C of W-little impact Hort Soc.-vocal -little impact Pearce-early impact -less impact later	B of T-catalyst -success C of W-support Chadwick-impact on organization	process-yes product-no process-some product-no
Rational Decision Making	-rhetoric in rationale for park planning -result-incremental response to environment	-rationale for park purchase now, before price increase -result-incremental response to environment	-rationale for planning -result-incremental response to environment	-rational for planning -result-incremental response to environment some rational d.m. about river valley land	-rhetoric present, but result was because of incremental planning
CONCLUSION Stronger Explanation from	-process-ideology -power -product-environment -social -political -economics -physical	-process-power -individuals -environment -political -product-environment -economic -political -physical	-process-power -environment -political -product-environment -economic -physical -political	-process-power -environment -political -product-environment -economic -political -physical	-process-power -product-environment -economic -physical -political

present in statements advocating the creation of playground organizations. There was substantial evidence that local reformers, acting both as individuals and with groups such as the Council of Women and the Y.M.C.A., were influential in creating playground organizations in the early 1910's in Regina and Edmonton, and later in Calgary and Saskatoon. Although playground organizations developed early in Regina and Edmonton, only in Regina did an association develop and operate playgrounds at an early date. The development of playgrounds in Calgary did not occur until 1917. Edmonton's playground development did not begin until the Gyro Club became involved in 1923. Saskatoon's playground development was delayed until 1928 when the Kinsmen Club took on the project as an experiment.

The influence of urban reform on planning appears to be very limited. Arguments favoring housing and town planning were presented in Regina and Edmonton, and housing and sanitation were mentioned in Calgary. Meanwhile, Saskatoon's decision-makers were urged to engage in work "along the lines of modern town planning." Although arguments and discussions were present in each city, the link between reform rhetoric and the formation of a planning organization does not seem to have been as strong as that present in the formation of parks and playgrounds organizations. While the creation of a planning organization was frequently followed by the hiring of a planner to produce a plan, the plans which resulted appear to have been influenced very little by urban social reform principles. The primary reform influence appears to have come from attempts to rationally plan transportation and land use within the context of a grand (or grandiose) plan.

Urban reform influences were strongest on playgrounds, less so on parks, and of least impact on planning. Civic boosterism influences had much less impact on parks and playgrounds, while having substantial influence on planning.

There is little evidence to suggest that boosterism had an influence on the development of parks organizations or park sites, with one exception. That exception is the development of parks at Canadian Pacific Railway stations in both Regina and Calgary. These railway station parks were intended to improve the appearance of the town or city, providing visitors with an

initial positive image of the particular community.

There were no examples of boosterism having an impact on the development of either playground organizations or playground sites.

On the other hand, booster arguments were present in justifying and forming planning organizations in Regina, Saskatoon and Edmonton, particularly in cases where plans were seen as evidence of being modern and progressive. While there is little evidence of boosterism in the formation of a planning organization in Calgary, it was definitely present as the city hired Thomas Mawson, both for his expertise and his reputation which would create good publicity. Similar, but unstated, sentiments may have been present in Regina when they hired Mawson because he was a competent expert.

In summary, while both urban reform and civic boosterism made some impacts upon parks, playgrounds and planning, the impacts varied, with both factors having more impact upon the *process* of organizing than on the *product* (park sites or playgrounds or plans). Table 4, which follows, displays, in a summary format, some of the information previously presented.

TABLE 4

FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROCESS AND PRODUCT

Process and Product	Urban Reform	Civic Boosterism
Parks Organization	YES	NO
Park Sites	NO	NO
Playgrounds Organization	YES	NO
Playgrounds	PARTIAL	NO
Planning Organization	PARTIAL	YES
Plans	NO	YES

Environment

The physical, economic, political and social environments were important in policy making in each of the four cities. The environment of each city included both stable and changing aspects. The stable aspect was the physical setting of each city, even though the prevailing views of that setting and its attributes may have changed from time to time. In contrast, the economic, social and political aspects of the environment were constantly changing. Of the four aspects of the environment, changes in the economic environment brought about the most substantial impact on the development of parks and playgrounds. Attributes of the physical environment were judged to be of secondary importance. The political environment contributed somewhat to the process of development, while the social environment contributed the least explanation.

In all cities, changes in the international and national economic environment, in 1913 and again in 1930 produced changes in the local economic environment, and thus, changes in the provision of parks and playground services. Even if there was not a policy debate about the matter, each city imposed restraint practices. These practices varied from reducing the available funding; to not paying for plans that had been commissioned, as in Regina; to not implementing plans that had been received, as in Calgary, or which had been received only in draft form, as in Edmonton; to cutting non-revenue producing departments, as was done in Edmonton. However, while these restraint measures reflected a reduced level of service delivery, one aspect of the 1913 recession created the expansion of service delivery in each city. As each city was left with substantial amount of land on which municipal property taxes had not been paid, that city was able to acquire title to the land. Thus, at little or no expense, by the late 1920's each city was in a position to designate parcels of land throughout the city for park and playground purposes. Although merely designating the parcels did not ensure development or program operation, however, it gave each city a more substantial park land base than it had acquired in any previous planning exercises. Unfortunately for each city, soon after these advances had occurred in the late 1920's, the 1930 depression occurred and another period of reduced services began.

The physical environment in each city was fixed and, in general, not subject to variation. However, there was variation between cities in the perception of the attractiveness of each site and the expressed need, either by pressure groups or decision makers, that a townsite must be enhanced (changed) to achieve a certain status, as was advocated in Regina; or the expressed need to the preserve existing amenities, such as the river frontage in Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton, and the islands in Saskatoon and Calgary. The lack of tree cover in Regina, that rather unbountiful act of Nature, was the subject of much rhetoric on the part of the newspaper editor of the day, Nicholas Flood Davin. Efforts to change that situation, including tree planting and civic beautification, provided Regina with several additions to the park system; as did the creation of a reservoir for water for steam trains, which eventually became Wascana Lake.

In Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton, which were on more substantial rivers, concerted efforts took place to preserve river frontage. In all three cities, river front driveways were planned and partially implemented. All three cities also acquired park land in their river valleys, usually to preserve water access and views. In Edmonton, in addition to acquiring river valley land, the City also reserved from development, lands with steep slopes and lands in ravines, for both aesthetic and environmental protection purposes.

Impacts on parks and playgrounds from the political environment took the form of debates about parks within the local political arena, legislation at the provincial level, designation as a provincial capital or as the site of a railway line, land acquisition from the Dominion Government, and direction from a quasi-government organization at the national level. In each city debates took place in city council about both the role of parks commissions or boards and the acquisition of park land. Three of the four cities eventually created a parks commission or board (Regina being the exception), and in two cities (Saskatoon and Calgary) provincial enabling legislation was passed to empower them to operate. Debates about park acquisition involved both the availability of funds for land and the location of park lands (few centrally located parks or more parks distributed throughout the city). The designation of a city as a provincial capital provided it with both an image that there should be civic

enhancement, and with ample ammunition in terms of rhetoric about the attributes and role of a capital. Decisions about the routes of a railway lines were made as political decisions at the national level; as were decisions about the granting of land in townsites either by the Dominion Government or large private companies. The Canadian Commission of Conservation, while not able to require cities to undertake planning, was able to give assistance, encouragement and gentle nudges to the cities, in hopes that some planning efforts would be undertaken.

Changes in the social environment, particularly in urbanization and urban living conditions were part of the rhetoric in every city, and part of the background of the development of parks and playgrounds. However, there does not appear to be evidence to suggest that social conditions, particularly crowding and unhealthy living environments had a direct impact on efforts to increase park and playground services.

Distribution of Power

Explanations focusing on power suggest that policies will reflect the distribution of power and influence. Because this study was not able to look at policy outcome measures dealing with the detailed consequences to society, but rather looked at services and organizations created (the product), it was difficult to ascertain the distribution of those benefits. However, the organizations attempting to have an influence on policy making are of two broad types: firstly, ones whose members usually represented the economically advantaged groups, for example, boards of trade and councils of women (although this latter group claimed to be working *for* disadvantaged groups); and, secondly, groups such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., which were established to serve the less advantaged. In the case of the cities in this study, the boards of trade, the councils of women, and service clubs such as Kinsmen Club and the Gyro Club frequently voiced rhetoric supporting parks and playgrounds, and on occasion gave financial assistance; but it was the staff of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. or other paid staff who actually supervised the playground operations.

The impact of the distribution of power explanation in terms of looking at organized groups does not seem to have been substantial. However, several individuals can be said to have power, either because of their wealth, their professional position, or their affiliation to someone who had power. Thus, a Board of Trade member, or a senior government staff member (such as R.B. Chadwick in Edmonton), or a noted community member (such as Rev. Smith in Saskatoon or W. Pearce in Calgary) would be permitted very easy access to the decision makers.

Rational Decision Making

The decision making process noted in much of the literature deals with the creation of the bureaucracy to plan and develop parks and playgrounds, and with comprehensive planning efforts, such as rational planning. Rational planning and decision making efforts, involving identifying facts, using reason, measuring efficiency and establishing what was best, was the process promoted by the experts as the preferred method of proceeding. However, in the case of most cities in the study, planning can be described as being incremental rather than rational. Very few planned changes were made to the status quo. Rather, park land acquisitions occurred when environmental conditions provided convenient situations which would be capitalized upon. Few major innovations were debated or decided. When major land acquisitions were discussed, they were frequently based on the availability of land resources which required little financial outlay or commitment.

C. CONCLUSIONS

The original proposition that urban reform and civic boosterism were factors which significantly affected the development of parks and playgrounds in prairie cities was not supported by the research findings. The ideology of urban reform had an effect upon the process of creating an awareness of park and playground issues and on creating organizations to manage and plan parks and playgrounds, but had much less effect on organizations to do planning. Urban reform had little impact on policies for the actual acquisition, designation

and development of park and playground sites. The ideology of civic boosterism had little influence on either parks or playground organizations or sites. Civic boosterism had substantial influence on the establishment of planning organizations in the 1910's and the commissioning of comprehensive plans. However, very little implementation resulted from these plans when they were received. There were other more important influences on the development of parks and playgrounds.

Thus, the following conclusions can be made in light of the interpretive framework:

1. Prevailing ideas associated with urban reform and civic enhancement, as expressed by pressure groups, were evident in the rhetoric, but had limited impact on the establishment and operation of municipal parks and playgrounds;
2. The environment, especially the economic environment and the physical environment, was the most important factor;
3. The activities of powerful groups had more influence on the process than on the product;
4. Rational decision making, with logical, long-term planning was noted in the rhetoric of the process, but had little impact on the product. Incrementalism was more useful as an ex post facto explanation of the decision making activities.

D. POSTSCRIPT - HEALTH OR WEALTH

The thesis has presented the evidence and conclusions of this research study and noted that the original research proposition was not supported. It is now appropriate to proceed to opine, speculate and develop more questions about some of the evidence and linkages that were noted earlier.

The central proposition of the thesis addressed the roles of the urban reformers and the civic boosters. While the rhetoric of these two groups was strongly evident, their actions were less so. The reformers' attempts to alleviate the "sorry condition" of unhealthy cities were somewhat more effective in advancing the cause of parks and playgrounds in the four prairie cities than were the boosters' efforts to promote growth, and thus wealth, through parks and playgrounds.

However, when viewing the fervour and depth of belief of these two groups, it appears that many of the reformers were carrying a "second-hand cause" - a cause which had been adopted by a national body such as the National Council of Women and which local groups were expected to follow. In contrast, the boosters believed fervently in their cause - the growth and expansion of their cities, of their businesses, industries and developments and their personal fortunes.

The conclusion that reformers had more impact than did boosters on the development of parks and playgrounds does not reflect a situation whereby the boosters attempted to promote parks and playgrounds and failed. Rather, they did not contribute substantially to the advocacy about parks and playgrounds. The cause to which they did contribute substantially, the encouragement of planning and plans, was more successful. These were plans which they hoped would show evidence of a progressive, prosperous city and, thus, increase the wealth of the city.

A question which arose during the thesis research was whether movements or individuals were more effective in the various cities? And, of course, can individuals be separated from the movements which influenced them? The individuals were undoubtedly affected by ideas gleaned from their own training, their travels, their professional associations, their reading and from colleagues and visiting experts. But, it was only when the fervour and sustained effort of an individual such as Nicholas Flood Davin in Regina, or Reverend E.B. Smith in Saskatoon, or William Pearce in Calgary, or R.B. Chadwick in Edmonton was applied to the situation through their association with a movement that issues were continually brought forward to the attention of the municipal decision-makers and, thus had a chance of being discussed.

There are several issues which this thesis did not address which would be of interest to those studying the distribution of power, class relationships and influential individuals in each city. One issue concerns overlapping memberships - what in 1988 might be termed "networks." In particular the direct membership connections between various city councillors, senior bureaucrats and the boards of trade would be of interest; as would connections between

the above noted groups and the councils of women through spouses or other family members. The spousal connection could lead to another set of questions regarding the notion that urban reform was sponsored primarily by "women's groups" while civic boosterism was sponsored by "men's groups." Did reform (health) only make steps forward when assisted by powerful men's groups (wealth)? Preliminary results would suggest that this was the case.

The question of whether the causes being promoted were being addressed for altruistic or self-serving motives was not answered in this study. The promoters were noted and their effectiveness was evaluated, but the underlying motives for their support were not addressed. Were bureaucrats hoping to build larger mandates and, thus, larger budgets and larger staffs? Were individuals promoting causes which would increase their personal wealth because they owned residences or businesses or undeveloped land which would be enhanced by certain developments? Did municipal councillors promote projects which would improve either the areas that they represented or the areas in which they lived?

General questions such as the ones above can lead to questions about the designation of specific park sites including the river valleys or water fronts in each city. Was preservation of land bordering the water bodies a tool for acquiring recreation land for the general public, for environmental protection, for enhancing the city's aesthetic qualities, or for enhancing the property values of adjacent property owners? Were lands set aside in the 1920's, not for future park sites as stated, but, rather, as land for future residential and commercial development? Were parks used as a holding zone? It was easy to set aside park sites, but it took much more financial and political commitment to actually develop a usable park with appropriate community facilities. However, because of the financial crisis of the 1930's, researchers are currently unable to second guess the motives of the decision makers of the time, and are merely able to note what actually happened as the economic and political climate changed in the 1940's and 1950's, wherein some of the park sites became available for other uses, while others were, indeed, developed for parks purposes.

The urban reformers' attempts to create a healthy city at the grass roots level, with benefits diffusing upward were admirable ones. The civic boosters' efforts to encourage

growth and development with benefits trickling down to all residents were more fervently promoted. However, neither one could overcome the circumstances which the economic environment imposed upon them. Health and wealth were both overcome by scarcity.

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C. SECONDARY SOURCE MATERIALS - BOOKS, JOURNALS AND THESES

The listing of secondary source materials which follows contains references gleaned from other bibliographies and research reports and from an examination of contemporary journals. The most complete bibliographies that deal with Western Canada and Urban Canada are A.F.J. Artibise's *Western Canada Since 1870*, [1] and Artibise and Stelter's *Canada's Urban Past*. [2] The latter publication is supplemented annually in the October issue of *Urban History Review*. [3] Within part of the Bibliography, a distinction is made between *contemporary accounts* from the time period of the research study and *reviews* of previous primary or secondary source material. The reviews are frequently, but not totally, based on research carried out in the past two decades.

The contemporary journals which were examined were selected for two reasons. Firstly, they contain articles dealing with municipal matters. Secondly, these journals would very likely have been accessible to municipal officials in the cities that are part of the research project. Thus, the articles contained in the journals were potential influences upon the decision- makers in each city. The most complete collection of all the journals is held by the Manitoba Legislative Library in Winnipeg, although partial collections are available in each province. The following journals were examined from the year in which publication began, up to 1930.

1. *Western Municipal Review*, 1906 to 1930 (The Official Organ of the Unions of Municipalities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta);
2. *Canadian Municipal Journal*, 1905 to 1922; followed by *Municipal Review of Canada*, 1922

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[1] A.F.J. Artibise, *Western Canada Since 1870: A Select Bibliography and Guide.* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978).

[2] A.F.J. Artibise and G.A. Stelter, *Canada's Urban Past: A Bibliography to 1980 and Guide to Canadian Urban Studies.* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).

[3] E. Bloomfield, "Bibliography: Recent Publications Relating to Canada's Urban Past." *Urban History Review*
10 (October 1981): 41-55;
11 (October 1982): 59-84;
12 (October 1983): 107-133;
13 (October 1984): 121-159;
14 (October 1985): 135-191; and
15 (October 1986): 175-200.

to 1930 (Official Organ of the Union of Canadian Municipalities);

3. *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, 1920 to 1930 (publication of the Town Planning Institute of Canada); and
4. *Construction*, 1907 to 1930 (A Journal for the Building and Engineering Interests of Canada).

The bibliography has been organized to begin with references from the very broad field of Urban History, becoming more specific with references dealing with Urban Development (particularly on the prairies), Policy Development, Reform, Boosterism, Planning, Parks and Recreation, and finally focusing on each city individually. Within the sections on Planning, Parks and Recreation and each city, the references are divided into those which are contemporary accounts in the time period of the research project, 1880 to 1930, and those which are reviews of previous primary and secondary source materials. Entries which would fit in two or more sections are included in each one; for example, the article "Regina - Parks and Playgrounds" by Mayor Robert Martin is included in the section "Parks and Recreation" and in the section "Regina." This method of organization should prove useful to researchers interested in both general and specific topics.

The main contributions made by this bibliography and the research for which it was created are their specificity in terms of geographic area and time period; as well as providing material for use in comparisons. The topic of Parks and Playgrounds between 1880 and 1930 has been the subject of little previous research. The first overview of Canadian parks and recreation history which laid the groundwork of present and future research was McFarland's *The Development of Recreation in Canada.* [4] However, the breadth of that study did not permit such indepth, specific studies of individual cities as is the focus of current research. Current research and writing by J. Wright focuses on changing functions of open space in general and urban parks in Ontario. [5] Local, but not comparative, studies have been published

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[4]E. McFarland, *The Development of Recreation in Canada.* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1970).

[5]J. Wright, "Urban Open Space in Transition," in *Proceedings of the Third Canadian Congress on Leisure Research.* (Edmonton, 1981), pp. 434-452; *Urban Parks in Ontario - Part I: Origins to 1860.* (Toronto: Province of Ontario

about two prairie cities, Calgary and Winnipeg. The Calgary publication is a chronology of the park system's history, emphasizing the addition and development of park sites with little analysis of the reasons behind such events. [6] Two Winnipeg studies focus on the process by which the early development of the park systems - or individual parks - was influenced by promoters of real estate interests, business interests, or class interests. [7] A recent overview of *The Evolution of Urban Canada* by Artibise and Linteau contained a section dealing with "Leisure, Sports and Cultural Life." [8] This section identified only six Canadian studies dealing with leisure and concluded that "there is surprisingly little that deals with the evolution of leisure spaces and activities in Canadian cities." [9]

The key themes which are intertwined with parks and playgrounds in each city are urban reform and civic boosterism. The rhetoric of reform and boosterism is abundant. The contemporary accounts listed in the references give researchers a picture of the local situations in the early decades of this century - but it is a picture colored by the advocates of programs such as planning or parks or playgrounds or by local boosters using accounts of their local situation as ammunition in their campaigns. It is the task of researchers to determine whether the rhetoric of the advocates had an impact and whether the rhetoric of the boosters was describing real conditions or aspirations for the future. Were there links between the abundant rhetoric and later actions by the decision-makers? Some of the materials in this bibliography provide information on both rhetoric and actions.

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[7]A.F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914.* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1974); and
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APPENDIX - WINNIPEG

This short section describing the situation in Winnipeg is included in the thesis for the following reasons: firstly, Winnipeg was the first major prairie city established in Canada; secondly, because of its early establishment and its geographic location on a key river system it had substantially more advanced trade and communication links with eastern Canada and the United States, often acting as the gateway to the west; thirdly, it was the city whose services were frequently referred to when smaller centers wished to emulate a larger more established center; and fourthly, the *Manitoba Public Parks Act* which Winnipeg had adopted served as the model for other cities.

The City

Winnipeg was the first major city on the Canadian Prairies. The city progressed from its beginnings as a trading post for the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, to being the site of the Red River Colony in 1812, to becoming the seat of government for the North West Territories in 1870. It was incorporated in 1873. [1] As the census data in Table 1 show, by 1881 Winnipeg was an urban center with a population that the other four Prairie cities in the study would not reach for at least 25 years - well into the first decade of the twentieth century. In fact, by 1880, Winnipeg was well on its way to achieving the status of a metropolitan center in the Canadian West.

Winnipeg was incorporated with city status, without passing through the usual, lower stages of the urban hierarchy, being a village and then a town. As George Bryce, a prominent Winnipegger, phrased it in 1905, "it did not go through the chrysalis stage of village or town." [2] To be termed a city implied a status to which Winnipeg's citizens aspired - "the

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[1] A.F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1977), pp. 11-17.

[2] G. Bryce, "The Illustrated History of Winnipeg, ch. XXIII" *Manitoba Free Press*, 1905, quoted in A.F.J. Artibise, "The Origins and Incorporation of Winnipeg," in *Cities in the West* eds. A.R. McCormack and I. MacPherson (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 15.

grand vision of quickly becoming the 'Chicago of Canada'."[3] The City's *Act of Incorporation* in 1873 was based on the Ontario legislative model. [4] The new civic authority had the power to deal with many health, safety and enforcement matters, but it did not have any authority to provide municipal parks and playgrounds. [5]

Winnipeg Parks

As noted above, the City's *Act of Incorporation* did not provide any authority to establish municipal parks and playgrounds. That authority came 19 years later, through the 1892 *Manitoba Public Parks Act* which enabled Winnipeg to establish public parks controlled by a Public Parks Board. [6] It appears that the legislation was prompted by a "campaign of editorials and public meetings." [7] For, while the precise reasons for producing the Public Parks legislation are not clear, there are several suggestions about the situation and the influences prevalent in Winnipeg in the 1880's and 1890's. Champion's 1911 account states that:

> there were men of culture and aesthetic sense who had an eye to the future welfare of the crude and lusty young giant of the plains. To their untiring efforts must be credited the agitation which finally resulted in the appointment in 1893 of a Public Parks Board by the City Council. [8]

Very little is known about these "men of culture and aesthetic sense." However, Douglas, writing in 1959, refers to George F. Carruthers, a Winnipeg alderman in 1892, as "the father of our Public Parks system." [9] It may have been Carruthers who stimulated Council to request its staff to address the issue of public parks; however, the evidence is limited to the City Engineer's 1892 Annual Report to Council, in which he noted that he had been asked to "report upon a proposed system of parks for the city of Winnipeg and to make suggestions

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[3]Artibise, "The Origins and Incorporation of Winnipeg," p. 15.
[4]Ibid., p. 19.
[5]Artibise, *Winnipeg, A Social History*, p. 267.
[6]*Statutes of Manitoba*, 1892, ch. 31.
[7] Artibise, *Winnipeg, A Social History*, p. 267.
[8]G. Champion, "The Parks and Boulevards of Winnipeg," *The Canadian Engineer* 20 (19 January 1911): 167.
[9]W. Douglas, "Winnipeg Parks," *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba - Transactions ser. 3*, 14 (1959): pp. 61,63.

with a view to the acquisition and management of suitable lands." [10] The subsequent report abounded with rhetoric, and examples from cities such as Minneapolis, which seemed to be aimed at the booster spirit of Winnipeg's decision makers. His account noted "the policy in all civilized countries to reserve large areas of land," "the need for breathing spaces," their "sanitary influence," and the work of other "public spirited men." He described the present "bare and bleak appearance" of Winnipeg, in contrast to Minneapolis, whose "children now own some of the brightest jewels nature ever bestowed on a favored people." As well, he considered that parks would be a "judicious expenditure," "a wise and safe investment," and "of such great material advantage to the city." It was a powerful appeal to the sentiments of a city attempting to become the "Chicago of the North"!

In addition to Champion's description of men of "culture and aesthetic sense" and the City Engineer's appeals to the booster spirit, Artibise suggests another reason for the creation of a Parks Board in Winnipeg. He regards the growth of a parks movement as:

> not so much a response to the haphazard development of the city or even its unfinished appearance, as a reaction to the prospect that all land in the city would soon be occupied. This would have meant that when parks were eventually planned the cost of acquiring suitable sites, both as to size and location, would have been either impossible or too costly. [11]

Whether or not the actions were a result of visionary or practical decision-makers, Winnipeg went through the procedures necessary to adopt the *Manitoba Public Parks Act* in 1892. The procedures included the petitioning of council by 300 citizens "praying for the adoption of the Act" (in May, 1892); the passing by Council of a bylaw to adopt the Act; and the submission of this bylaw to the electors (in December, 1892, passed by a majority of 1129 to 185). [12] City Council appointed the new Parks Board early in 1893. The Board appears to have adopted the principle of distributing its new parks equitably throughout the developed part of Winnipeg. [13] Five years later, the Parks Board was lauded by the local society

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[10] "Winnipeg Works - A Scheme for Establishing Parks," *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 March 1892.
[11] Artibise, *Winnipeg, A Social History*, p. 267.
[12] *Statutes of Manitoba*, 1892, ch. 31; and
Artibise, *Winnipeg, A Social History*, pp. 267-268.
[13] "Parks, Boulevards and City Beauty," *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 August 1906.

magazine, *Town Topics*:

> These gentlemen, handicapped by a civic grant of money which fell far short of requirements, went bravely about their task, plodded along faithfully and intelligently, unmoved by adverse criticism, and today can point with justifiable pride to their achievements. [14]

Their achievements include developing a park management policy which, according to McFarland, attempted to meet the needs of the whole city. Park acquisition apparently started in the central area of the city where, as Artibise noted, land values were increasing rapidly, presumably with hopes of avoiding even higher land prices. [15]

The Parks Board worked quickly. In July, 1893 the taxpayers approved the raising of $74,000 by debentures - money which the Board used for land purchases. [16] By 1895, the city had acquired eight sites, totalling 33 acres. By 1910, there were 28 parks encompassing 500 acres, including 290 acres in Assiniboine Park, a major suburban park. [17] Cavett, Selwood and Lehr's study of the Winnipeg park system documents the details of the parks acquired by purchase, donation and transfer between 1893 and 1913. [18]

The provision of a pleasing environment in some parts of Winnipeg cannot be totally attributed to the laudable efforts of the Public Parks Board. While the *Manitoba Free Press* credited the Winnipeg Parks Board (with nature's help) with providing "the luxuriance of foliage," "wide boulevarded streets," and parks with "sylvan charms," the newspaper did not give all the credit to the planners:

> The most attractive localities in Winnipeg owe their existence more to the enterprise of real estate speculators than they do to any general movement upon the part of the citizens themselves. In Fort Rouge the demand for boulevards and paved streets started with those who saw that the property values would be enhanced; and for the creation of some of these districts that most people delight to ramble though, the citizens are as much indebted to shrewd business acumen as they are to any inherent desire on their own part to build a beautiful city. [19]

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[14] "The City Parks," *Town Topics*, 30 July 1898.
[15] E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/ Recreation Association, 1970), p. 13.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Champion, p. 167.
[18] M.E. Cavett, H.J. Selwood, and J.C. Lehr, "Social Philosophy and the Early Development of Winnipeg Parks," *Urban History Review* 11 (June 1982): 32.
[19] "Parks Boulevards and City Beautiful."

Cavett, Selwood and Lehr's 1982 study of the origins of the Winnipeg park system combined a general review of trends in the parks movement in North America with the specifics of the establishment and development of Winnipeg's parks and playgrounds. [20] After analyzing the Winnipeg situation in the context of the North American movements, they concluded that Winnipeg's efforts emanated from a mix of motives, including civic boosterism:

> the motives underlying park development were a complex mixture of altruism and commercialism, fuelled by the booster mentality endemic throughout the developing North American west. [21]

Winnipeg Playgrounds

Most published sources refer to 1908 as the year in which playgrounds were first considered in Winnipeg. [22] However, the *Western Municipal News* notes that, in 1906, the Chairman of the Winnipeg Parks Board, R.D. Waugh suggested that playgrounds should be provided. [23] Notwithstanding this slight difference in the presumed date when playgrounds were first considered, all sources agree that 1908 was the first year of movement from rhetoric to action. The Mothers Association of Winnipeg, an affiliate of the Local Council of Women, raised $800 to provide one demonstration playground at a centrally located school. The report at the 1908 Annual Meeting of the National Council of Women gives some clues to the promoters' intentions and success:

> As the object this year was to demonstrate the possibilities of the playgrounds a better ground could not have been chosen. It was centrally located, and people were constantly passing or going through it. . . the number of boys getting into trouble in the neighborhood of the playground was very much less than for the same season last year. [24]

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[20]They identified and described five "diverse but frequently interrelated elements: the commercially oriented parks movement, the City Beautiful Movement, the residential amenities movement, the mass recreation movement, and the park-playground movement." Cavett, Selwood and Lehr, p. 27.

[21]Ibid., p. 37.

[22]"Splendid Growth of Playgrounds Movement in Winnipeg," *Manitoba Free Press*, 19 June 1915;
McFarland, p. 32; and
Cavett, Selwood and Lehr, p. 35.

[23]"City Playgrounds of Winnipeg," *Western Municipal News* 5 (November 1910): 326.

[24]M. Peters, "Annual Report of the Committee on Vacation School and Supervised

The success of 1908, aided by a visit from the travelling Field Secretary of the Playgrounds Association of America, Lee F. Hammer, in the spring of 1909, most likely contributed to the formation of an association to promote playgrounds, in May, 1909. [25] Soon afterward, City Council successfully sought an amendment to the City Charter enabling it to establish a Playgrounds Commission to equip, maintain and regulate the playgrounds. The Commission was established in 1909 with the former chairman of the Parks Board, R.D. Waugh, as its chairman. [26] The supervisor of playgrounds in the first year of operation was A. Peterson of Cleveland, Ohio. [27]

While the support of Mr. Waugh and the Mothers Association may have been instrumental in promoting and establishing playgrounds in Winnipeg, the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) also contributed substantially to the playground efforts. The Y.M.C.A. had provided swimming opportunities for the boys at its swimming tank as early as 1908. H.R. Hadcock, Director of Physical Education and Welfare for the Y.M.C.A., acted as General Supervisor for a number of years, starting in 1910. [28] As well, other staff trained by the Y.M.C.A. were employed by the Playgrounds Commission in the early years; for example, in 1910 Mr. Best and Mr. Simpson, the assistant supervisors, were students from the Y.M.C.A.'s college at Springfield and Mr. Best was a staff member at least until 1912. [29] The Association's philosophy, extolling the importance of physical activity, appears to have been very prevalent in the early years of the playgrounds. McFarland cites Hadcock's published writings as stressing "physical activities such as games, gymnastics, folk dances and drills, athletics and swimming," as he promoted play and play facilities in order that children would be "strong and law abiding." [30] Mr. Best and Mr. Simpson were described glowingly as men "whose youth and athletic training caught and held the sporting blood of the playgrounds

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[24](cont'd) Playgrounds," *National Council of Women of Canada, Yearbook, 1908* (Toronto: National Council of Women of Canada, 1908), p. 45.
[25]"Splendid Growth of Playgrounds Movement in Winnipeg."
[26]"City Playgrounds of Winnipeg."
[27]"Splendid Growth of Playgrounds Movement in Winnipeg."
[28]Peters, p. 45.
[29]"City Playgrounds of Winnipeg;" and
"Splendid Growth of Playgrounds Movement in Winnipeg."
[30]McFarland, p. 32.

teams." [31]

The number of playgrounds grew. It increased from one in 1908, to seven in 1909, 12 in 1910, 14 in 1911, 16 in 1912, 18 in 1913, 20 in 1914, 21 in 1915 and 1917, to a reported (but not listed) 59 in 1921 and 47 in 1923. [32]

Responsibility for the playgrounds changed with the appointment of a permanent commissioner of recreation and with the provision of public recreation opportunities in the winter in 1912. The program expanded from playgrounds in the summer to include ice rinks in the winter. [33] Other changes occurred in 1919 when the powers of the Playgrounds Commission were transferred to the Parks Board. By then the program had grown to 22 playgrounds and 15 skating rinks as well as evening classes at five schools. [34] This transfer of the playgrounds to the Parks Board in 1919 may well have been the result of years of internal discussion. As early as 1911 it had been noted by the Superintendent of Parks, in an article in a national professional journal, that "the [playground] movement is gaining rapidly in public favor and it is generally understood that all new playgrounds will be controlled by the Parks Board." [35] The transfer of playgrounds to the Parks Board is in keeping with the general pattern of development noted by McFarland in her conclusions about the development of public recreation in Canada. [36]

Outside Influences

While local residents and officials supported and carried out the parks and playgrounds work, ideas from outside Winnipeg had a substantial impact. The parks rhetoric which was expressed in 1892 in the *Manitoba Free Press* contained many references to the

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[31] "City Playgrounds of Winnipeg."
[32] "Splendid Growth of Playgrounds Movement in Winnipeg;"
National Council of Women of Canada, Yearbook, 1915 (Toronto: National Council of Women of Canada, 1915), p. 101;
National Council of Women of Canada, Yearbook, 1917-1918 (Toronto: National Council of Women of Canada, 1917), p. 132; and
Cavett, Selwood and Lehr, p. 135.
[33] "Splendid Growth of Playgrounds Movement in Winnipeg."
[34] McFarland, p. 32.
[35] Champion, p. 169.
[36] McFarland, p. 38.

grand work in Minneapolis, New York, Boston and Philadelphia. It also incorporated a table showing the population and park areas in eight other U.S. cities, seven European cities and one Japanese city; as well, "City Beautiful" notions from elsewhere abounded in articles in the *Manitoba Free Press* in both 1892 and 1906. [37]

Influences on the development of Winnipeg playgrounds can be traced to several North American sources. The Mothers' Association was an affiliate of the Winnipeg Council of Women, which, in turn, was represented at the meetings of the National Council of Women of Canada. This national group began promoting Vacation Schools and Supervised Playgrounds in 1901. The convenor of the Playgrounds Committee, Miss Mabel Peters, was elected a vice president of the Playgrounds Association of America in 1908. [38] The travelling secretary of the Playgrounds Association of America gave a well received lecture in Winnipeg in the spring of 1909. Later that year, Mrs. John Dick, a member of the local playgrounds association was sent as a delegate to the Playgrounds Association of America convention in Pittsburgh. Soon after her return the Playgrounds Commission was established. [39] The first playground supervisor was from Cleveland, Ohio. The next supervisor and his assistants were Y.M.C.A. trained, and had, in fact, attended the Y.M.C.A. College at Springfield, Massachusetts. The sum of these examples of imported ideas and staff certainly lends support both to the pattern of development identified by McFarland, and to the elements from the North American parks movement identified by Cavett, Selwood and Lehr as being influential in the development of Winnipeg parks and playgrounds. [40]

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[37] "Winnipeg Works;" and "Parks, Boulevards and City Beautiful."
[38] McFarland, pp. 19-20.
[39] "Splendid Growth of Playgrounds Movement" in Winnipeg."
[40] Cavett, Selwood and Lehr, p. 27.

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